



S<sup>r</sup> THOMAS MORE K.<sup>nt</sup>  
Lord Chancelot of England.

H. More del.

G. Vertue sculp.





*S<sup>r</sup> THOMAS MORE K.<sup>nt</sup>  
Lord Chancelot of England.*

*H. More delin.*

*E. Verelstael sculp.*

THE  
L I F E  
O F  
Sir *Thomas More*, K<sup>t</sup>.  
LORD HIGH CHANCELOUR  
OF ENGLAND  
Under K. *Henry* the Eighth,

A N D  
His Majesty's EMBASSADOUR to the  
Courts of *France* and *Germany*.

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By his Great Grandson,  
*THOMAS MORE*, Esq; R.

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MUSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM

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THE  
PREFACE.

THE following Sheets were drawn up by THOMAS MORE, the great Grandson of Sir THOMAS MORE, whose History they contain, and are supposed to have been first publish'd at *London* in *Quarto*, about two Years after the Author's decease, (a) who is reported to have died at *Rome* on the Eleventh of *April*, 1625. according

(a) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 35.

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to the *Gregorian* computation, and to have left this Work behind him there. He is said to have been a Person of consideration and character, the Agent of the *English* Clergy in *Spain*, and at the Court of *Rome*, and a zealous assertor of the Pope's Supremacy. And indeed he manag'd with such application and integrity in the business of his employment, that upon his leaving the World, the *English* Roman-Catholick Clergy erected a Monument over his Ashes at their own expence, as a testimony of the respect they bore him, and the sense they had of his services. He lies buried in the Church of *St. Lewis* at *Rome*, and the Inscription over him, as 'tis given us by *Antony Wood*, runs in the form following. *D. O. M. S. Thoma Moro dioc. Ebor. Anglo, magni illius Thoma Mori Angliae Cancellarii et Martyris*

## The PREFACE. v

tyris pronepoti atq; heredi, viro probitate et pietate insigni, qui, raro admodum apud Britannos exemplo, in fratrem natu minorem amplum transcripsit patrimonium, et presbyter Romæ factus, inde (a) fuisse sedis Apostolica in patriam profectus, plusculos annos strenuam fidei propagandæ navavit operam; postea cleri Anglicani negotia septem annos Romæ, et quinque in Hispaniâ, P. P. Paulo V. et Gregorio XV. summâ cum integritate et industriâ, suisq; sumptibus, procuravit. Tandem de subrogando Anglis Episcopo ad Urbanum VIII. missus, negotio feliciter confecto mercedem recepturus, ex hac vitâ migravit, xi. Apr. An. 1625. æt. sue 59. Clerus Anglicanus mæstus P. The near relation he bore to Sir THOMAS MORE must necessarily have

(a) The transcriber seems here to have made a mistake; the sense requires we should read *ex parte*, or some other word of the like signification.



made him well acquainted with the principal circumstances of his Life, and accordingly his performance is said by the learned (a) Oxford Antiquary to have been *incomparably well written*. 'Twas so greedily sought after upon its first publication, that in Mr. Wood's time, 'twas scarce to be had; and it appears from the few Sheets of Sir THOMAS MORE's Life, which Dr. Fiddes has left behind him, that notwithstanding all his enquiries after proper materials for the compiling his History, he had never seen it. 'Tis the scarcity of this Work, and the value that has been set upon it, which have given occasion to this new Edition, that the World might not be depriv'd of any information relating to the Story of this great Man, whose learning and sufferings

(a) Bishop Swinburne's Hist. of the Reform. Vol. I.

(a) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 35.

have

have so justly recommended him to the esteem of mankind.

His execution is without exception one of the greatest blemishes in K. *Henry VIII<sup>th</sup>*'s reign. As he had been some time in favour with the King, and stood distinguish'd by his faithfulness and zeal in the administration of Justice, by an unexampled generosity and disinterestedness, it might have reasonably been expected, that his present suppos'd offence would have been overlook'd upon the score of his former Services, and the rigour of his sentence abated. But his great endowments were turn'd to his disadvantage, and made use of as so many Arguments for hastening his ruin. (a) He was invidiously charg'd with ingratitude in the Pre-

(a) Bishop *Burnet's* Hist. of the Reform. Vol. I. Book II. p. 158.

amble to an Act of Parliament, " for  
 " the great favours he had receiv'd  
 " from the King, and for studying  
 " to sow and make sedition among  
 " the King's subjects, and refusing  
 " to take the Oath of Succession".  
 And 'twas farther urg'd, that if no  
 notice was taken of him in so great  
 a change, and he was suffer'd to es-  
 cape with impunity, his authority  
 might make an ill impression up-  
 on the people, and his example  
 encourage others to fall off from  
 their affection to the King.

Archbishop *Cranmer* is said to  
 have solicited in his behalf; and  
 there is still (a) extant a letter from  
 him to Secretary *Cromwell*, dated  
 the 17th of *April*, wherein he pre-  
 ses, that Sir THOMAS MORE and the  
 Bishop of *Rocheſter* might be dis-

(a) *Strype's* Memor. of A. Bp. *Cranmer*, Append.  
 Num. xi. p. 14. See also *Weaver's* Funeral Monuments,  
 p. 504, 506.



pens'd with in the present case, and allowed to take the Oath to the succession only, without swearing to the Preamble, as they had both of them freely offer'd to do. His wisdom foresaw, that if they once swore to the succession, all others would readily acquiesce in their judgment, and peace be restor'd to the nation. But the King was too passionately fond of his new Queen and his new Power, to admit of any advice, which might seem to reflect upon either. And thus 'twas resolv'd to proceed against 'em with all imaginable severity.

In *November* following, an Act was passed in Parliament for the farther Establishment of the King's Supremacy. The tenour of it was very extraordinary, and as 'tis only refer'd to in the ensuing discourse, I shall here lay it before the Reader.

“ Al-

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“ (a) Albeit the King’s Majesty  
 “ justly and rightfully is, and ought  
 “ to be supreme Head of the  
 “ Church of *England*, and is so re-  
 “ cogniz’d by the Clergy of this  
 “ Realm in their Convocations, yet  
 “ nevertheless for Corroboration  
 “ and Confirmation thereof, and  
 “ for increase of Virtue in Christ’s  
 “ Religion within this Realm of  
 “ *England*, and to repress and ex-  
 “ tirp all Errors, Heresies, and o-  
 “ ther Enormities and Abuses here-  
 “ tofore used in the same ; Be it  
 “ enacted by the Authority of this  
 “ present Parliament, that the King  
 “ our sovereign Lord, his Heirs and  
 “ Successors, Kings of this Realm,  
 “ shall be taken, accepted and re-  
 “ puted, the only supreme Head  
 “ in Earth of the Church of *Eng-*  
 “ *land*, call’d *Anglicana Ecclesia*,

(a) 26. H. 8. cap. 1. Mr Collier’s Ecclesi. Hist.  
 Vol. 2. p. 88.

“ and

The P R E F A C E. xi

“ and shall have and enjoy an-  
“ nex'd and united to the Imperial  
“ Crown of this Realm, as well the  
“ Title and Style thereof, as all  
“ Honours, Dignities, Immunities,  
“ Profits, and Commodities to the  
“ said Dignity of supreme Head of  
“ the said Church belonging and  
“ appertaining. And that our said  
“ sovereign Lord, his Heirs and  
“ Successors, Kings of this Realm,  
“ shall have full power and authori-  
“ ty from time to time, to visit, re-  
“ press, redress, reform, order, cor-  
“ rect, restrain, and amend, all such  
“ Errors, Heresies, Abuses, Con-  
“ tempts, and Enormities, whatso-  
“ ever they be, which by any man-  
“ ner of spiritual Authority or Juris-  
“ diction ought or may lawfully be  
“ reform'd, repress'd, order'd, re-  
“ dress'd, corrected, restrain'd, or  
“ amended, most to the Pleasure of  
“ Almighty God, the increase of  
“ Virtue



“ Virtue in Christ’s Religion, and  
 “ for the Conservation of the Peace,  
 “ Unity and Tranquillity of this  
 “ Realm, any Usage, Custom, Fo-  
 “ reign Laws, Foreign Authority,  
 “ Prescription, or any Thing or  
 “ Things to the contrary hereof  
 “ notwithstanding.”

Thus, we see the King’s Majesty, and such as were commission’d by him, were made (a) sole Judges in matters of Faith, and all Ecclesiastical Discipline was put into their hands. The Commission, which our Saviour had granted to his Apostles

(a) This Clause of the Act however has been since in effect repeal’d by the 13 Eliz. cap. 12. which ratifies and confirms the 39 Articles of Religion, received in the Church of England. For in the 20th Article ’tis expressly said, that the Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith. And by Article the 37th, the Regal Supremacy is explain’d to be no other, than that only Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers.

and

and their Successors, was set aside by an human Law, and the Authority they deriv'd from Heaven transfer'd upon the State. The care of Souls was made to devolve upon the Civil Power, and the being of Christianity to depend upon the will of the Magistrate.

The (a) King began the exercise of his Supremacy with naming *Cromwell* his Vicar-General, and General Visitor of all the Monasteries and other Privileged Places. He next made him his Lord Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical matters, gave him an authority over the Bishops, and Precedence next the Royal Family. (b) And in both these Commissions, all Jurisdiction, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, is said to flow from his Majesty as supreme Head.

(a) Bishop *Burnet's* History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 181.

(b) Ibid. Collect. of Records, &c. p. 184.

Not

has

## xiv THE PREFACE.

Not long after the Parliament had dispatch'd this business, a Latin (a) Bible was order'd to be set forth, and in his Majesty's general Preface he addresses the pious Reader in the following strain. *Nos itaq; considerantes id erga Deum officii, quo suscepisse cognoscimur, ut in Regno simus sicut anima in corpore, et sol in mundo, utq; loco Dei Judicium exerceamus in Regno nostro, et omnia in potestate habentes, quoad Jurisdictionem, ipsam etiam Ecclesiam vice Dei sedulo regamus, ac tueamur, et disciplina ejus, sive augeatur, aut solvatur, nos ei rationem reddituri sumus, qui nobis eam credidit, et in eo Dei vicem agentes, Deiq; habentes imaginem, quid aliud vel cogitare*

(a) 'Twas publish'd under the following Title. *Sacra Biblia Tomus primus, in quo continentur quinque Libri Moysis, Libri Josue, et Judicum, Liber Psalmorum, Proverbia Solomonis, Liber Sapientiae, et Novum Testamentum Jesu Christi.* And at the end are these words. *Excudebat Thomas Barboletus Regius Impressor, Anno MDXXXV. Mense Jul.* See Dr. Hickes's Treatise of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order, &c. p. 238.

vel



*vel in animum inducere potuimus, quàm ut eodem confugeremus, ubi certo discendum esset, ne quid aliud vel ipsi faceremus, vel faciendum aliis præscriberemus, quàm quod ab hac ipsâ Dei lege ne vel transversum quidem digitum aberrare convinci queat.*

And farther, to shew how much he triumph'd in this new style and title, he some time after (a) caus'd a Medal to be struck, where on one side is to be seen his Effigies half fac'd, in his usual bonnet, sur-gown, and collar of rubies, with the following Inscription engrav'd in a double circle, HENRICUS. OCTA. ANGLIÆ. FRANC. ET HIB. REX. IN TERR. ECCLE. ANGL. ET HIB. SUB. CHRIST. CAPUT. SUPREMUM. And on the Reverse,

(a) Evelyn's Numismata, &c. p. 88. and Dr. Hickeys of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order, &c. p. 240. seq.

H. R.

H. R.

הנריכוש

שמיני ג. מלך. באמוה

סגן. יבעדה. אנגליאי

והיבדניאי סתחת. משה

ראש עליון

ΕΝΡΙΚΟΣ. Ο. ΟΓΔΟΟΣ. ΤΡΙΣ  
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΠΡΟ-  
ΣΤΑΤΗΣ ΕΝ. ΤΗ. ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ  
ΤΗΣ. ΑΓΓΛΙΑΣ. ΚΑΙ ΙΒΕΡΝΙ-  
ΑΣ. ΥΠΟ. ΧΡΙΣΤΩ. ΑΚΡΗ  
Η. ΚΕΦΑΛΗ.

Londini 1545.

The late-mention'd Statute how-  
ever had no Penalty annex'd, and  
was therefore insufficient to affect  
the Life of Sir THOMAS MORE. For  
this reason another Act was pass'd  
in the same Session, (a) by which it  
was made High Treason for any  
person, *maliciously to wish, will, or  
desire by words or writing, to deprive*

(a) 26 H. 8. cap. 13, Statutes at large.

# The PREFACE. xvii

*the King's most Royal Person, the Queen, or her Heirs apparent, or any of them, of their dignity, title, and name, &c.* And thus upon Mr. Rich's evidence, that Sir THOMAS MORE should say, the Parliament could not make the King supreme Head of the Church, he was declar'd to be within the Statute, and was pronounc'd guilty of High-Treason.

But to return to the Subject of the following Book. To make it as useful as might be, I have been at the pains to compare it with the several Lives of Sir THOMAS MORE, which have been given us by others, and have made references in the Margin to the several places, where the like fact is related. The most considerable of these is Mr. Roper's Life of Sir THOMAS MORE, publish'd by Mr. Hearne at Oxford in 1716. and Dr. Stapleton's *Vita Tho. Mori*, &c. which is part of his Book entitled,



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titul'd, *De tribus Thomis*, edit.  
*Dnac.* 1588. and *Col. Agripp.* 1599.  
And I may safely affirm, there is no  
Circumstance of any moment taken  
notice of by either of these, that is  
not to be met with in the Book be-  
fore us. Mr. *Hoddesdon's* History  
is less to be accounted of; 'tis a  
bare abstract taken from our Author,  
and the two Writers we have men-  
tion'd above. But that the Reader  
might be depriv'd of no Satisfaction,  
it is also referr'd to among the rest.

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MOST GRATIOUS AND SOVERAINE  
DIE  
The author of this Treatise  
To  
Your Majesty

To the High and Mightie Princeſſe,  
Our moſt Gracious QUEENE  
and SOVERAIGNE  
MARIE HENRIETTE,  
QUEENE of *Great Britaine,*  
*France, and Irland,*  
LADIE of the Iles of the  
*Britiſh Ocean.*

**M**OST GRATIOUS AND  
SOVERAIGNE LA-  
DIE.

The authour of this Treatiſe, el-  
deſt ſonne by deſcent, and heire  
a 2 by

## xx EPISTLE DEDICATORY

by nature of the family of that worthy Martyr, whose life is described in it: had he liued himselfe to haue set it forth to the view of christian eies, would not haue thought vpon any other patron and protectour to dedicate it vnto, then your most excellent Maiestie. For he was most constantly affected alwayes to the French Nation and crowne, next after the dutifull obedience which he ought to his owne natural Lord and soueraigne. And this his affection did he manifest in all occasions, but especiallie in the treatie of the happie marriage of your highnes, with the King our soueraigne Lord and master; Assembling at his owne costes and charges, with vnwearied industrie all the English persons of note and esteeme, that then were in and about Rome, and with them all (as the mouth of them all) supplicating  
to



# TO THE Q. MAIESTY. xxi

to his Holines for the dispatch of this most hope-full and happie contract, yeelding such reasons for the effecting thereof, as highlie pleased the chiefe Pastour of the Church vnder Christ our Sauour. The same affection did he testifie sufficiently in the last period of his life, leauing his bodie to be buried in the French church at Rome, where with great content of the French Nobilitie it lieth interred.

This being the affection of the author of this treatise, I should much wronge his memorie, if these labours of his should be offred to the patronage of anie other then of your roiall Maiestie. The glorious Martyr himselfe demands likewise, that his life should be read vnder your Maiesties protection: since he lost his life in this world (to gaine it in the next) in defence of an innocent stranger

a 3

Queene

## xxii EPISTLE DEDICATORY

Queene (for reasons not to be mentioned by vs) debarred from her lawfull bed. Although (God be praised and magnified therefore) the heauens haue rained such graces vpon your Maiestie, that there neuer can happen any such causes of defence; your glorious Husband and Lord, our soueraigne King so dearlie affecting you, and the hope-full yssue (the chiefeft bond of matrimonial loue) so powerfully knitting your hearts together, and your gracious Maiesties goodnes, virtues, and debonnaire discretion so recommending you to him first, and then to all his true loyall subiects of this great vnited Monarchie; That we may vndoubtedlie expect from almightie God a long and prosperous enioyance of your joint-gouernment, and a glorious race of happy successours to this crowne from your royall loines; which happines,  
and

TO THE Q. MAIESTY. xxiii

and heauen after long prosperitie  
on earth, vpon my knees I wish  
vnto your royall grace; remain-  
ing for euer,

*Your Maiesties loyall and obedient  
subiect and seruant.*

M. C. M. E

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THE



THE  
PREFACE  
TO THE  
READER,

I. **A**S I cannot but daily thinke of the rare and admirable vertues both of nature and grace, which did shine most perspicuously in the blessed life and glorious death of that worthie Champion of Christ's Church, Sir THOMAS MORE ; so also haue I often had an earnest desire, especially for the spirituall behoofe of my selfe and my Children (who are as small brookes deriued by naturall propagation from that spacious sea of rare perfections ; or like tender twigs drawing sappe from the fruitfull roote of his noble excellencies) to giue them a taste, according to my poore abilitie, of some few of his most heroical vertues ; professing my self vtterly vnable to sett downe his life in writing, as he deserueth.

2. For

2. For if that *Apelles*, the principall paynter that euer liued, was thought only fitt to drawe with his pencell the pourtraicture of *Alexander the Great*; or if *Lysippus* the most curious engrauer was the onlie man, which was suffered to carue in brasse the beauteous feature of the same so worthie a personage; for feare least that some vnskillfull workeman might rather blemish his fauour, then anie waies grace it: what courage can I haue to vnder-take a worke of so great difficultie as this, who know my selfe a verie puney in comparison of so manie famous men, that have vndergone this businesse alreadie, finding in the verie beginning of this mine enterprise, my small capacitie ouerwhelmed with the plentie and copiousnesse of this subiect? and yf I should boaste my witt and skill to be equall with learned *Stapleton's*, who at large and with great diligence and dexteritie hath sett forth the life of this great seruant of God in his booke, intituled, *The three Thomases*, I should vanish away in mine owne pride, knowing my self right well most vnworthie to be compared vnto him; or if I should challenge vnto my selfe more certaintie of the matter related, then my great vncle Mr. *William Rooper* could haue, euerie one might iudge me both vaine and arrogant, of whose sinceritie none, that euer knewe him or heard of him, can doubt, I being the third in descent from S. THOMAS, and he his owne sonne-in-law, with whome he had familiarly conuersed the space of sixteene

teene yeares together, as he himself confesseth ; yet for all this I haue now at last ventured to discourse a little of the life and death of this glorious Martyr (for so without enuie I hope I may call him) *non ut electus ex multis, sed quasi relictus ex omnibus*, not as one that may be thought fitt to sett his life forth with good grace, but as he, who only vpon a natural affection to his Ancestour, trusting chiefly of Gods ayde, and this Saint's holie praiers, is emboldened to say somewhat thereof ; this being one propertie of affection, to suppose, that whosoeuer hath spoken, or whatsoeuer hath bene sayd of him, whome we loue, all that we thinke nothing, if we ourselues haue not sayd somewhat in his praise ; although (alas) we are often the vnfittest men for that purpose, we being not able to vtter what we conceaue, because our passion taketh away much of our conceipt ; and therefore we vtter for the most parte either broken words, or vnperfect sentences, more intelligible to him, that searcheth the secretts of mens harts, then to others that heare them spoken, or reade them in our writings.

3. But one may aske me, why I should challenge more affection to this man, then anie other of my kinne, of whome few or none haue endeauoured to write any thing hitherto ; I answer, that though I haue had more cause perhaps then anie man else to loue him, and honour him, which is best knownen to my selfe, and not fitt to be related vnto all men ;

*secretum*



*secretum meum mihi*; yet will I not ascribe to my selfe so great a priuiledge of louing him best, I being the yongest and meanest of all my familie; lett this suffice him, that is a curious searcher of this my deede, that as Doctour *Stapleton* was moued to take paines in setting forth the actions of S. THOMAS MORE, because he was borne in the verie same moneth and yeaere, wherein he suffered his glorious martyrdome; so was I borne anew and regenerated by the holie Sacrament of Baptisme on the verie same day (though many yeares after) on which Sir THOMAS MORE entred heauen triumphant, to witt, on the sixt day of Iuly. And therefore haue I had some speciall confidence of his particular furtherance and blessing. For how, I pray you, could I euer haue hoped to haue liued as heyre of Sir THOMAS his familie, and to enioye at this time some parte of his inheritance, all which by his attaynder he had lost vtterly from himself and his children, if his praiers had not as it were begged it at Gods hands? besides I was the yongest of thirteene children of my father, the last and meanest of fiue sons, four of which liued to mens estate; and yet it hath bene Gods holie pleasure, to bestowe this inheritance vpon me; which though perhaps I haue no cause to boaste of, because it may be a punishment vnto me for my faultes, if I vse it not well, and a burden, which may weighe me downe full deepe; yet will the world coniecture it to be a great blessing of God, and  
so

so I ought to acknowledge it : And although I knowe my self the vnfitteſt and vnworthieſt of all the foure to manage this eſtate, yet they either loathed the world, before the world fawned on them, liuing in voluntarie contempt thereof, and dyed happie ſoules, in that they choſe to be accounted abieſt in the ſight of men ; or elſe they vtterly caſt of all care of earthlie traſhe, by profeſſing a ſtrayté and religious life, for feare leaſt the dangerous perills of worldlie wealth might gaule their ſoules, and the number of ſnares, which hang in euerie corner of this world, might entrappe them to the endangering of their eternal ſaluation ; and leſt me poore ſoule to ſinke or ſwime, or, as I can, wade out of theſe dangerous whirle pooles, amongſt which we wordlings are ingulphed ; the multitude of which eminent perils doe force me to cry firſt and chiefly to CHRIST IESVS : ſaying with his Apoſtles : *(a) Lord, ſaue me, for I am in danger of drowning* ; and then alſo to craue the eſpeciall aſſiſtance of Sir THOMAS MORE his prayers, by whoſe interceſſion I hope to waſte this my poore barke vnto her aſſured haven of heauen, though ſhaken and cruſhed with winde and weather.

4. But none of vs muſt thinke, that his aſſiſtance is all, we muſt putt our owne helping hands thereto :

*(a) Matt. xiv. 30.*

*Nam*

*Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus  
ipsi  
Vix ea nostra voco. —*

his meritts are not our warrant, yea rather his examples haue layde a greater loadē on the backes of his posteritie, in that we are bound to imitate his actions more then anie other, or else more harme will fall vpon vs, because we haue not followed the foote stepps of our worthie Forefather, according as *Moyſes* commaunded the *Israelites* saying in his Canticke: (a) *Interroga patrem tuum, & annuntiabit tibi; maiores tuos, & dicent tibi;* which the Apostle also counselleth Christians in these wordes: (b) *Quorum videntes conuersationem, imitamini fidem.* But should I therefore wish I had not bene his Grandchilde, because I haue incurred a greater bond, and shall runne into greater infamie, by forsaking my dutie? noe; God forbidde; yea rather this will I boldly affirme, not vpon vaine glorie, but vpon the confidence I haue of this singular man's blessing; if God would haue giuen me choice, before he created me of nothing, wether I would be the sonne of some famous Emperour, magnificent King, noble Duke, couragious Lord, or his, whose I was, I would most willingly haue chosen to be the same I am (to Gods eternall glorie be it spoken.)

(a) Deuteronomy xxxii. 7.

(b) Heb. xiii. 7.

5. Where-



5. Wherefore relying vpon the assistance of this most excellent Saint, I will endeauour briefly to sett downe for mine owne instruction, and my Childrens, the life and death of Sir THOMAS MORE; who was as a bright starre of our Countrie in the tempestuous stormes of persecution, in which we sayle to our heauenlie Cittie; on whome God heaped a number of most singular endowments; as, aboundance of witt, profound wisdom, happie discretion, perfect Iustice, exceeding Temperance, sweete affabilitie, and all excellencies of nature and moralitie, besides supernaturall and Theologicall guifts; as, Charitie in a high degree, both towards God and his neighbour; a Fayth most constant, which would not be daunted with anie threatnes or disgraces, that his Prince or Counsellours could thunder out against him, nay not with death itselke; a magnanimitie not to be ouercome either by feare of anie losses, or hope of anie dignities; religion and such deuotion as scarcely could be looked for in anie of a lay profession; which perfections beganne to shine in his infancie, and continued in the progresse of his actions, and did not ende, but increased by his most glorious death, which was an enterance into a most happie kingdome, wherein he both can and will haue compassion and helpe vs in these our miseries; because he was raysed by God to be one of the first famous warriors in this our long persecution. Wherefore he  
may

may worthily be sett before our eyes, as a perfect patterne and liuelie example to be imitated by vs : for he had more to loose, then most men in the land, being second to none but to the Chiefest, either in worldlie dignitie, or his Prince's fauour ; and yet did he willingly forgoe all, yea life it selfe, rather then to wrong his Conscience, in consenting to anie thing against the law of God, and Iustice, as by this ensuing discourse will particularly appeare.

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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
Sir THOMAS MORE.

CHAP. I.

Sir THOMAS MORES parentage, birth, education; studies and first employments of youth.

1. *Sir Tho. Mores parents, and their noble descent.* 2. *The place, day, and yeare of of Sir Th. Mor. birth.* 3. *Sir T. M. his first studies.* 4. *Sir T. M. his first workes or writings.* 5. *His mortifications and penances.* 6. *His deuotions, and prayers.* 7. *His diet and apparel.* 8. *His pleasaunt and discreet dissimulation of his virtues.*

I. **S**IR THOMAS MORE was the (a) onlie sonne of *Sir Iohn More* knight, one of the Iustices of the kings Bench, a singular man for manie rare perfections, which his sonne setteth downe in his

(a) Vit. Th. Mori, aut. Stapletono. cap. 1. p. 154. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Th. More, ch. 1. p. 1. Wood's Athens Oxon. Vol. I. col. 32.

owne (a) Epitaph extant amongst his Latine workes, tearming his father a man *Ciuile*, that is to say, courteous and affable to all men; *sweete and pleasant in Conuersation*, that is, full of merrie conceits and wittie ieastes; *innocent and harmelesse*, to witt, neither desirous of reuenge, nor maligning any for his owne priuate gaine; *meeke and gentle*, that is to say, of an humble carriage in his office and dignitie; *merciefull and pittiefull*, that is, bountiefull to the poore, and full of compassion towards all distressed persons; *iust and vncorrupted*, which are the aptest titles and epithites that can be giuen to a Iudge, as if he would say, that he was neuer moued with friendship, stirred vp with hope of gaine, nor wrested by anie threatens, but still performed his dutie, and that he shutt vp alwaies his left eie to all affection of friendship, and from all briberie. (b) *Cambden* also reporteth of him for prooffe of his pleasantnesse of witt, that he would compare the multitude of women, which are to be chosen for wiues, vnto a bagge full of snakes, hauing amongst them but one eece; now if a man should putt his hand into this bagg, he may chance to light on the eece, but

(a) *Foannes Morus, eques, & in eum Iudicum ordinem à principe cooptatus, qui regius confessus vocatur, homo civilis, suavis, innocens, mitis, misericors, aequus & integer, annis quidem grauis, sed corpore plus quam pro ætate uiuido, postquam ad sibi productam uitam uidit, ut filiam uideret Angliæ Cancellarium, satis in terrâ iam se moratum ratus, libens emigravit in coelum. See this Epitaph quoted by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 1. p. 154.*

(b) See Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, ch. 1. p. 2.

it is a hundred to one he shall be stung with a snake. Manie such like wittie similitudes would he vse in his priuate discourses, and in publike auditorie.

By these his perfections of witt and grace one might guesse that this Childe was likelie to proue singular, hauing so good a father; but he farr surpassed him in all these and manie more excellencies; so that our Familie hath bene much more dignified by this sonne, then he anie way drew worth and dignitie from his Ancestours; the consideration whereof hath caused manie to thinke and say that Sir THOMAS was of meane parentage, and the first of his house; yea some have not sticke to write, by birth no gentleman; grounding their errour vpon these wordes, which he setteth downe in his Epitaphe: (a) *Thomas More, borne of no noble familie, but of an honest stock*; which is true as we here in England take Nobilitie and Noble; For none vnder a Baron (except he be of the Priuie Councell) doth challenge it; and in this sence he meaneth it: but as the Latine word *Nobilis* is taken in other Countries for Gentrie, it was otherwise. For Iudge *More* bare Armes from his birth, hauing his Coate quartered, which doth argue that he came to his inheritance by descent, and therefore although by reason of king Henries seasure of all our Euidences we

(a) In the original, *Thomas Morus, urbe Londinensi familia non celebri, sed honesta, natus*; where the word *celebri* seems to be wrongfully translated noble.



cannot certainly tell, who were *Sir Iohn's* Ancestours, yet must they needes be Gentlemen; and, as I haue heard, they either came out of the *Mores* of Ireland, or they of Ireland came out of vs. And as for *Sir THOMAS*, he was, as I haue sayd, a Knight's eldest sonne, and sole heyre to a Iudge of this realme. But whatsoeuer the Familie was or is, if Vertue can ennoble anie, surely it hath by these two excellent men bene made much more to be respected. Yet if we, as God forbidde we should, degenerate from their footestepps, we may cause it soone to be base and of small reckoning, vice being the chiefe stayne, that tainteth euen the noblest Families.

The name of *Sir THOMAS* his mother was *Handcombe of Holiewell* in the Countie of *Bedford*; yet Doctour *Stapleton* had not heard so much, who sayth: that her (a) name was vnknown; by reason of which wordes some haue taken greate exceptions, as though she had bene a base woman, though he doth in the same place tell this reason thereof, because she dyed soon after she had brought forth this childe; but to haue bene a woman of more then ordinarie vertue, that, which Doctour *Clement* reporteth from *Sir THOMAS* his owne mouth of (b) a vision which she had the next night after her marriage, seemeth, in my judgment, forcible to argue; in which

(a) *Matris nomen nescitur, quippe qua adhuc infante Thoma Moro mortua est.* Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 1. p. 154.

(b) Vir. Th. Mori, aut. Stapletono, cap. 1. p. 154. seq.

she sawe in her sleepe, as it were ingrauen in her wedding ring the number and fauour of all her children she was to haue, whereof the face of one was so darke and obscure, that she could not well discerne it, and indeede afterwards she suffered of one of her children an vntimelie deliuerie; but the face of one of her other, she beheld shining most gloriously, whereby no doubt Sir THOMAS his fame and sanctitie was foreshened and presignified. She brought forth before him to Sir *Iohn* two daughters, one called *Iane*, afterwards married to a noble gentleman Mr. *Richard Staffreton*, and *Elizabeth*, wife to the worthie gentleman Mr. *Iohn Rastall*, Iudge *Rastall's* father.

Sir *Iohn* after his first wife's death, married successiuelly two others, whereof the last, as I haue heard, was called *Alice* one of the *Mores* of Surrey, and great aunte to Sir *William More*, whose sonne, now liuing, is Sir *George*, lieutenant of the Tower, a man little inferiour to his noble (a) Ancestours, if his religion were answerable to theirs. This Ladie outliued her sonne in law Sir THOMAS, dwelling vpon her Iointure in Hartfordshire at a Capitall messuage then called *More-place*, now *Gubbons*, in the parish of *Northmimes*; but being a little before her death thrust out of all by king Henry's furie, she dyed at Northall a mile from thence, and lieth buried in the church there.

(a) Write, *Ancestours*.

2. SIR THOMAS MORE was (a) borne at *London* in Milke-streete, (where the Iudge his father for the most parte dwelt) in the yeare of our Lord 1480. in the twentieth yeare of *Edward* the Fourth. Shortly after his birth God would shew by another signe, how deare this babe was unto him. For his (b) nurse chancing to ride with him ouer a water, and her horse stepping aside into a deepe place, putt both her and her childe in great danger and ieopardie; whose harmes she seeking suddenly to preuent, threw the infant ouer a hedge into a fiede neere adjoyning; and after by God's helpe escaping safe also, when she came to take him up againe, she found him to haue no hurt at all, but sweetely smiled upon her; that it might well be sayd of him: (c) *Angelis suis Deus mandauit de te, ne fortè offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum*; and not his foote only, but his whole bodie.

3. This was no doubt a happie presage of his future holinesse, and putt his parents in minde that he was that shining Childe, of whome his mother had that former vision; wherefore his father had the greater care to bring him up in learning, as soone as his tender age would permit it; and so he putt him to the (d) Free-schoole of London called *S. Anthonies*, where

(a) Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Th. More, chap. 1. p. 2. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 32.

(b) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 1. p. 154. 155.

(c) Mat. iv. 6.

(d) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 32. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 1. p. 3. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 3.



he had a famous and learned man called (a) *Nicolas Holt* for his maister, vnder whome when he had rather greedily deuoured then leasurely chewed his Grammar rules, he outstripped farre both in towardnesse of witt, and diligence of endeauours, all his schoole fellowes, with whome he was matched.

And being borne to farre greater matters, his (b) father procured him to be placed shortly after in the house of the most worthy prelate that then liued in England both for wisdome, learning and vertue, whose like the world scarcely had, Cardinall *Morton* Archbishopp of Canterburie, and Lord high Chancellour of England, whose graue countenance and carriage was such that he easily allured all men to honour and loue him; a man (as Sir THOMAS MORE (c) de-

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 1. p. 155.

(b) Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 3. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 1. p. 157. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, ch. 1. p. 3.

(c) *Interea multum debui Reverendissimo Patri Joanni Mortono Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo & Cardinali, ac tum quoque Anglie Cancellario, viro, mi Petre, non autoritate magis quam prudentia & virtute incomparabili. Etenim statura ei mediocris erat, nec atati quanquam sece cedens; vultus, quem reuerere, non horreas; in congressu non difficilis, serius tamen & gravis. Libido erat asperius interdum compellendo supplicantes experiri, sed sine noxa, quid ingenii, quam animi presentiam quisque pra se ferret, qua velut cognata sibi virtute, modo abesset impudentia, delectabatur, & ut idoneam ad res gerendas amplectebatur. Sermo politus & efficax, juris magna peritia, ingenium incomparabile, memoria ad prodigium usque excellens. Haec enim natura egregia discendo atque exercendo procegit. Hujus consiliis Rex plurimum fidere, multum Respublica nisi videbatur; quippe qui a prima sece iuventute protinus a Schola conjectus in aulam, maximis in negotiis per omnem vexatus aetatem, ac variis fortuna astibus assidue iactatus, prudentiam rerum multis magnisque cum periculis didicerat. See this passage quoted by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 1. p. 157. 158.*

*The LIFE of*

scribeth him in his *Vtopia*) of incomparable iudgement, a memorie more then is credible, eloquent in speach, and, which is most to be wished in Clergiemen, of singular wisdome and vertue; so that the King and the Commonwealth relyed chiefly upon this mans counsell, as he, by whose policie king *Henrie* the Seauenth both gott the Crowne of England from *Richard* the third the vsurper, and also most happily procured the two houses of *Lancaster* and *Torke* to be vnited by marriage.

In this famous mans house this youth learned most diligently aboundance of wisdome and vertue; and now he beganne to shew to the world, what man he was likelie to proue. For (a) the Cardinall often would make triall of his pregnant witt, especially at Christmas meriments, when hauing plaies for recreation, this youth would suddenly steppe vp amongst the players, and neuer studying before vpon the matter, make often a parte of his owne inuention, which was so wittie and so full of icasts, that he alone made more sporte and laughter, then all the players besides; for which histowardlienesse the Cardinall delighted much in him, and would often say of him unto diuerse of the Nobilitie, who at sundrie times dined with him, that that boy there wayting on him, whosoever should liue to see it, would proue a maruelous rare man.

(a) Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 3. Hoddesdon's History of Sir Tho. More, ch. 1. p. 3.

But

But when this most reuerend Prelate sawe, that he could not profitt so much in his house, as he desired, where there were manie distractions of publike affaires, hauing great care of his bringing vp, he sent him to the Vniuersitie, and placed him in (a) *Canterbury-Colledge at Oxford*, now called *Christs-Church*; where, in two yeares space that he remained there, he profited exceedingly in *Rhetorick*, *Logick* and *Philosophie*; and shewed euidently, what wonders witt and diligence can performe, when they are joyned, as seldome they are, in one painefull student. There his whole minde was sett on his booke; for in his allowance his father kept him verie short, suffering him scarcely to haue so much monie in his own custodie, as would pay for the mending of his apparrell; euen no more then necessitie required; and of his expences he would exact of him a particular accounte, which course of his fathers he would often both speake of, and praise it, when he came to riper yeares; affirming that by this meanes

(a) So also Hoddesdon in his Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 1. p. 3. But Anthony Wood reports from Miles Windfore, who liv'd in the University of Oxford in Qu. Mary's time, that he had his chamber and studied in the Hall of S. Mary the Virgin, and adds, that constant tradition said the same thing. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 32. This difficulty Mr. Hearne has endeavour'd to remove, by observing that it does not follow he was a Member of St. Mary Hall, because he had a Chamber and studied there, any more than that several of Christ-Church as well as Oriel College of late years were Members of the same Hall, because they had Chambers, and followed their Studies there. See his Collections before Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 29.

he



he was curbed from all vice, and withdrawen from manie idle expences either of gayming or keeping naughtie companie, so that he knew neither play nor other riott, wherein most yong men in these our lamentable daies plunge themselues too timely, to the vtter ouerthrow as well of learning and future vertue, as their temporall estates. This strictnesse of his father increased in him also a great reuerence and obedience after vnto him againe; in so much that in all his life after he was so dutiefull vnto him, that he neuer offended nor contradicted him in anie the least worde or action, still shewing towards him admirable deedes of humilitie, euen at that time, when in the eye of the world, he farre surpassed his father in dignitie, which may be seene, by asking him (a) blessing euerie day duly, euen after he was Lord Chancellour of England; and when he and his father mett publikely at Lincolnes-Inne, or other where, he would still offer him the place of precedence, though the Iudge by reason of his sonne's office did still refuse it; such was the pietie and submissiue minde of this humble man; such againe was the prouident care of the father towards his sonne, that one can hardly guesse, which of the two were more worthie, the father of such a sonne, or the sonne of such a father; yet I iudge the father more happie, that enioyed such an admirable sonne, and wish that

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. i. p. 156. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. ix. p. 59.

my Children may imitate in this kinde their vertuous Ancestours.

4. When this towardlie youth was come to the age of eightene yeares, he beganne to shew to the world his ripenesse of witt; for he wrote manie wittie and goodlie Epigrammes, which are to be seene in the beginning of his English Workes; he composed also manie prettie and elegant verses of the Vanitie of this life, and the inconstancie thereof, which his father caused to be sett vp with pictures and pageants, which are also in the beginning of his greate English Volume; he translated for his exercise one of *Lucian's* Orations out of Greeke into Latine, which he calleth his first fruits of the Greeke tounge, and thereto he added another Oration of his owne, to answer that of *Lucian's*; for as he defended him who had slaine a tyrant; he opposeth against it another with such forcible arguments, that this seemeth not to giue place to *Lucian* either in inuention or eloquence. As concerning his diuerse Latine Epigrammes, which he either translated out of Greeke into Latine, or else composed of his owne: manie famous authours, that then liued, doe make mention of them with great praise. For (a) *Beatus Rhenanus* in his epistle to *Bilibaldus*

(a) In epist. praef. epigrammatibus Mori. *Utrobique mirus est Thomas Morus. Nam elegantissime componit & felicissime vertit. Quàm fluunt suauiter hujus carmina? Quàm est hic nihil coactum? Quàm sunt omnia facilia? Nihil durum est, nihil scabrum, nihil tenebricosum. Candidus est, argutus, latinus. Porro* 174.

*us Pitcheimerus* writeth thus: THOMAS MORE is maruelous in euerie respect; for he compoundeth most eloquently, and translateth most happily: how sweetly doe his verses flowe from him? how nothing in them seemeth constrained? how easie are all things there that he speaketh of? nothing is hard, nothing rugged, nothing obscure; he is pure, he is wittie, he is elegant; besides he doth temper all things with mirth, as that I neuer read a merrier man. I could thinke that the *Muses* haue heaped vpon him alone all their pleasant conceipts and wittie merriments; moreouer his quippes are not biting, but full of pleasantnesse and verie proper, yea rather anie thing then stinging; for he ieasteth, but without mordacitie; he scoffeth, yet without contumelie. The (a) like iudgement of his Epigrammes doth that famous Poëte (b) *Leodgarius à Quercu*, publike Reader of Humanitie in Paris, giue, and that not so much by his words as by his deedes. For he hauing gathered of the Epigrammes of diuerse famous men a Collection, he hath sett out more Epigrammes of Sir THOMAS MORE's, then of anie other writer: yet because rarenesse of anie excellent qualitie is still enuyed by some

*gratissimâ quâdam festiuitate sic omnia temperat, ut nihil unquam viderim lepidius. Crediderim ego, Musas quicquid usquam est iocorum, leporis, salium, in hunc contulisse. Sunt autem hujus sales nequaquam mordaces, sed candidi, melliti, blandi, & quidvis potius quàm amarulenti. Focatur enim, sed ubiq; citra dentem; videt, sed citra contumeliam.* See this passage quoted by Stapleton, in *Vit. Th. Mori*, cap. 2. p. 159.

(a) Stapleton. *Vit. Th. Mori*, cap. 2. p. 159. seq.

(b) Write, *Leodgarius*.



man or other, one *Brixius*, a German, wrote a booke against these Epigrammes of Sir THOMAS MORE's, which he called *Antimorus*; with such commendation, that *Erasmus* earnestly besought Sir THOMAS, that he would not ouerwhelme his friend *Brixius* with such an answer, as his rashnesse deserued; adding this of this his foolish booke *Antimorus* (a): *I heare what learned men speake of Brixius now after he hath written his Antimore, which as I heare it not willingly of him, so would I lesse willingly heare them so speake of you; wherefore seing I perceive how hard a matter it is to temper an answer to so spitefull a booke, but that you must giue some scope vnto your passions, I deeme it best for you not to regard, but wholly to contemne the matter; yet this I would not counsell you, my best friend, to doe, if there were anie thing in that malicious Antimore, which did truly blemish your fame, so that it were necessarie for you to wipe it away, &c.* Which friendlie counsell Sir THOMAS MORE in some sorte followed; for although he had answered *Brixius* fully in a

(a) In farrag. Epistolar. lib. 15. *Audire post editum à Brixio Antimorum, quid eruditi loquantur de Brixio, quæ ut de illo non libenter audio, ita de te minus libenter audire velim. Quamobrem quum sentiam quàm arduum sit tam virulento libello laceffitum sic attemperare responsum, ut nihil indulgeas affectibus, optimum certè sentio, si rem totam ita ut meretur negligas atque contemnas. Neq; verò hæc tibi consulerem, optime More, si quicquam esset in Antimoro, quod tibi sic labem aspersisset ullam, ut opera pretium sit eam curare abstergendam.* This passage, with the following account, is taken from Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori. cap. 2. pag. 160.

little treatise, which alreadie he had published, before *Erasmus* his letter came to his hands; yet vpon the receipt thereof, he endeauoured by all the meanes he could to gett all the Coppies againe into his hands, and so to suppress the booke; so that it is now very hardly to be found; though some haue seene it of late. And Sir THOMAS sent *Erasmus* a letter to this effect, that although *Brixius* by his malicious booke had endeauoured so much to disgrace him, that he wanted no will but skill and power to ouerthrowe his fame vtterly, yet this should preuayle more with him, that *Brixius* was friend to *Erasmus*, then that he was his owne enemy. Which kinde of answer sheweth expressely, how easie he was to forgiue iniuries, especially this being such a one as touched him so neare in his reputation; following herein the counsell of Christ himselfe in the gospel of (a) *S. Matthew*, who sayth: *Loue your enemies, and doe good to them that hate you, that you may be the true imitators of God, who causeth the sonne to shine as well vpon the wicked, as vpon the iust.* But can we thinke so heroicall an acte in so yong yeares (for he was not now of the full age of twentie) could proceede from one, who had not bene practised before in the schoole of Christ, and in the earnest searche of perfection? surely no, for this yong

(a) Matt. v. 44, 45.

man had euen from his infancie laboured with allmight and mayne to enriche himselfe with vertues; knowing that learning without vertue is to sett pretious stones in rotten wood, and, as the wise man saith, a golde ring in a hagg's snowte.

5. When he was about eighteene or twentie yeares olde, finding his bodie by reason of his yeares most rebellious, he sought diligently to tame his vnbrideled concupiscence by wonderfull workes of mortification. He vsed oftentimes to weare a sharp shirt of hayre next his skinne, which he neuer left of wholly; no, not when he was Lo; Chancellour of England (a): Which my grandmother on a time in the heate of sommer espying, laught at, not being much sensible of such kinde of spirituall exercises, being carried away in her youth with the brauerie of the world, and not knowing *quæ sunt spiritus*, wherein the true wisdom of a Christian man consisteth. He added also to this austeritie a discipline euerie fryday and high fasting dayes, thinking that such cheere was the best he could bestowe vpon his rebellious bodie, rather then that the handmayde *sensualitie* should growe too insolent ouer her mistrisse *Reason*, hauing learned the true interpretation of these wordes of Christ (b): *He that hateth his life in this world, keepeth it for life euerlasting.* He

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 28. Hodgeson's Life of Sir Tho. More, chap. 10. p. 62. seq.

(b) John xii. 25.



used also much fasting and watching, lying often either vpon the bare ground or vpon some bench, or laying some logg vnder his head, allotting himselfe but foure or fiewe howers in a night at the most for his sleepe, imagining with the holie Saints of Christs Church, that his bodie was to be used like an asse, with strokes and hard fare, least prouender might pricke it, and so bring his soule like a headstrong iade into the bottomelesse pitt of hell. For chastitie, especially in youth, is a lingring martyrdome, and these are the best meanes to preserue her from the dangerous gulphe of euil custome; but he is the best souldier in this fight, that can runne fastest away from himselfe, this victorie being hardly gotten with struiuing. He had invred himselfe to straytenesse that he might the better enter in at the narrow gate of heauen, which is not gott with ease, (a) *sed violenti rapiunt illud*, that is to say, they that are boysterous against themselves, bear it away by force. For this cause he liued (b) four yeares amongst the Carthusians, dwelling neare the Charterhouse, frequenting daily their spiritual exercises, but without anie vow. He had an earnest minde also to be a (c) Franciscan Fryer, that he might serue God in a state of perfection; but finding that at that time Religious men in England had somewhat dege-

(a) Matt. xi. 12. *M. out 112 to 113*

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 3. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 1. p. 4.

(c) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 2. p. 161.

nerated from their ancient strictnesse, and feruour of spiritt, he altered his minde. He had also after that togeather with his faythfull Companion *Lillie* a purpose to be a priest; yet God had allotted him for an other estate, not to liue solitarie, but that he might be a patterne to married men, how they should carefully bring vp their children, how dearely they should loue ther wiues, how they should employe their endeauour wholly for the good of their countrie, yet excellently performe the vertues of religious men, as, pietie, Charitie, humilitie, obedience, and Coniugall chastitie.

6. (a) He heard an intire Masse euerie day, before he undertooke anie worldlie buesinesse; which custome he kept so religiously that being on a time sent for to the king, whilst he was hearing Masse, he would not once stirre, though he were twice or thrice sent for, vntill it was wholly finished, answering them that vrged him to come quickly, that he thought first to perfourme his dutie to a better man, then the king was; imitating therein the famous act of (b) *S. Ludgar* first bishopp of *Munster*, who being sent for to *Charles the Great*, whilst he was singing in the quier the Canonick howers, he would not once stirre till all were ended; and be-

(a) The following Account is entirely taken from Dr. Stapleton, in Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 219. See also Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 15.

(b) Apud Surium, Mart. 26. cap. 32.

ing asked by the Emperour, why he neglected to come, when he sent for him, he answered: I haue alwaies thought that your commaunde is by me so to be obeyed, as I doubted not but God is to be preferred; therefore I haue been carefull to finish that I was about first, not for anie contempt of your Imperiall Maiestie, but for your more safetie and the dutie I owe to God. With which answere the Emperour no whitt displeased but delighted, answered him with thanks, saying, that he had now found him such a one, as he had euer formerly thought him to be. Neither was King *Henrie* anie whitt angrie at that time with Sir THOMAS MORE, but rather highly pleased with this his small neglect.

He vsed euerie day to say our Ladie's Matins, the Seauen psalmes and letanies, and manie times the Gradual psalmes, with the psalme (a) *Beati immaculati in via*; and diuerse other pious praiers, which he himselve composed; he selected also manie sentences of the Psalmes, imitating therein *S Hierome's* psalter, which are extant in the latter end of his English Workes.

But finding his bodie for all his austeritie readie still to endanger his soule, although at all times he shunned idlenesse more then anie other man, he determined to marrie; and therefore he propounded to himselfe, as a

(a) Psal. cxix.



patterne of life, a (a) singular lay-man *Iohn Picus* Earle of *Mirandula*, who was a man famous for vertue, and most eminent for learning; his life he translated, and sett out, as also manie of his most worthie letters, and his twelue precepts of good life; which are extant in the beginning of his English Workes. For this ende he also wrote a treatise both learned, spirituall and deuout, of the Foure last things of man, though he left it vnperfect, being called by his father to other studies.

He frequented sermons diligently; especially when those men preached, who were most excellent for good life and spirituall direction, such as Doctour *Collett* was, the most famous Deane of Paules, who, as (b) *Erasmus* writeth, was wont euerie day to preache at Paules, besides manie other sermons, which he made at the Courte and else where, expounding in them either the Pater noster, the Apostles Creede, the Ten Commandements, the Seauen Sacraments, or some other matter of necessarie instruction, which he neuer left of, vntill he had perfected the whole, that thereby euerie one might learne, what they should belieue, what to followe, and what to shunne, and shewed the meanes how euerie Christian might come to perfection in their sundrie states of life; and his life did not disagree from his doctrine; for he exer-

(a) Stapleton Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 2. p. 162.

(b) Epist. lib. 15, cited by Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 2. p. 165, 166.

cised himself much in all workes of Charitie and mortification of his flesh. This was he that founded the goodlie Free-schoole of Paules, dedicating it to the little boy IESVS, as he was found disputing with the Doctours at twelue yeares olde, of which famous acte Sir THOMAS MORE writing vnto him, compareth it by a fitt Antithesis to the Horse of *Troy*, out of which the *Grecians* issued to surprise that Cittie; in like manner, saith he, out of this your schoole, manie haue come that haue subuerted and ouerthrowen all ignorance and rudenesse.

But fearing least all these his deuout exercises might not be so meritorious, if he followed his owne will; for a yong man is in great danger of himself to want discretion, the mother of all vertues; therefore he chose this worthie Deane for his ghostlie Father; for he was accounted one of the skillfullest phisicians for the soule, that could be found amongst ten thousand; him he committed himself vnto, as to a safe guide of perfection in the dangerous passages of youth; that by his experience he might the more easily overcome the deuill, the world, and his owne flesh, by following his wholesome lessons, to worke the saluation of his soule, without anie preiudice of his bodie; to him he was as obedient in all spirituall affaires, as he was to his father in all dutiefull obligation; whereby he arriued to perfect obedience, one of the chiefeest helps that a spirituall man can haue to  
gett

gett heauen. And because euerie one may see what affection he bore to this man his ghostlie phisitian, I will sett downe here an excellent (a) letter of Sir THOMAS MORE's to Doctour Collett, and it is this:

§. As I was lately walking before Westminster-hall, busying myself about other mens causes, I mett by chance your seruant, at whose first encounter I was maruelously reioysed, both because he hath bene alwaies deare vnto me, as also especially for that I thought he was not come to London without yourselfe; but when I had learned of him, that you were not come, nor yet minded to come of a long while, it cannot be expressed, how suddenly my great ioy was turned into as great sorrow and saddenesse. For what can be more griuous vnto me, then to be deprived of your most sweete conuersation? whose wholesome counsell I was wont to enioye, with whose delightfome familiaritie I was recreated, by whose weightie sermons I haue bene often stirred vp to deuotion, by whose life and example I haue bene much amended in mine owne, finally in whose very face and countenance I was wont to rest contented. Wherefore as I haue found myselfe greatly strengthened, whilst I enioyed these helpes, so now do I see myself much weakened and brought almost to nothing, being deprived of them so long. For hauing heretofore by fol-

(a) See Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 2. p. 163.



lowing your footestepps almost escaped out of hells mouth, so now like another Euridice (though in a contrarie manner, for she was left there because Orpheus looked back upon her, but I am in the like daunger, because you doe not looke upon me) fall back againe by a certaine violence and necessitie into that obscure darkenesse I was in before. For what I pray you is there here in this Cittie, which doth moue anie man to liue well, and doth not rather by a thousand deuises draw him back, and with as manie allurements swallow him up in all manner of wickednesse, who of himself were otherwise well disposed and doth endeavour accordingly to clime vp the painefull hill of Vertue? Whithersoever that anie man cometh, wat can he finde but fayned loue, and the honie poyson of venemous flatterie; in one place he shall finde cruell hatred, in another heare nothing but quarrells and suits. Whithersoever we cast our eyes, what can we see but victualing houses, fishmongers, butchers, cookes, puddingmakers, fishers, or fowlers, who minister matter to our bellies, and set forward the seruice of the world, and the prince thereof and deuill? yea the houses themselves, I knowe not how, do bereaue vs of a great parte of our sight of heauen; so as the heighth of our buildings, and not the circle of our horizon, doth limite our prospect. For which cause I may pardon you the more easily, that you doe delight rather to remaine in the country,

trie, where you are. For there you finde a companie of plaine soules, void of all craste, wherewith citizens most abounde; whithersoener you looke, the earth yeeldeth you a pleasant prospect, the temperature of the ayre refresheth you, and the cleare beholding of the heauens doth delight you; you finde nothing there but bounteous guifts of nature, and saintelie tokens of innocencie. Yet I would not haue you so carried away with those contentments, that you should be stayed from hastening hither. For yf the discommodities of the Cittie doe, as they may very well, displease you, yet may the countrie about your parish of Stepney (whereof you ought also not to haue the least care) afforde you the like delights to those, which that affordes you, wherein now you keepe; from whence you may upon occasions come to London as into your Inne, where you may finde great matter of meritt. The countrie people is most commonly harmelesse, or at the least not laden with great offences, and therefore anie phisician may minister phisick vnto them; but as for cittizens, both because they are manie in number, as also in regarde of their inueterate custome in sinning, none can helpe them but he that is verie skillfull. There come into the pullpett at Paules diuerse men, that promise to cure the diseases of others; but when they have all donne, and made a fayre and goodlie discourse, their life on the other side doth so iarre with their saying,

that they rather increase then assuage the griefes of their hearers. For they can not perswade men that they are fitt to cure others when as themselves (god wote) are most sicke, and crazie; and therefore when they feele their sores touched and handled by those, whome they see are full of loathsome sores themselves, they cannot but have a great auersion from them. But if such a one be accounted by learned men most fitt to cure, in whome the sicke man hath greatest hope, who doubteth then, but you alone are the fittest in all London to cure their maladies, whome euerie one is willing to suffer to touche their woundes, and in whome what confidence euerie one hath, and how readie euerie one is to doe what you prescribe, both you have heretofore sufficiently tryed, and now the desire that euerie bodie hath of your speedie returne, may manifest the same. Returne therefore my deere Collett, either for Stepney's sake, which mourneth for your absence no lesse then children doe for the absence of their louing mother, or else for London's sake, in respect it is your native countrie, whereof you can haue no lesse regarde, then of your owne parents; and finally (although this be the least motiue) returne for my sake, who haue wholly dedicated myself to your directions, and do most earnestly long to see you. In the meane while I passe my time with Grocine, Linacre and Lillie; the first being as you knowe the director of my life in your absence; the second, the



*the maister of my studies, the third, my most deare Companion. Farewell, and see you loue me as you haue donne hitherto.* London 21. Octob.

By this letter it may clearely be seene, how he gaue himselfe from his youth to the true rules of deuotion, and thereby sought to profit as well in holinesse as in learning; For if (a) Christ hath pronounced them happie, that hunger and thirst after iustice, surely he shewed in this letter a great earnestnesse of desire to attaine to perfection. And his example may moue all his to follow therein his footstepps, that their chiefe and principall endeaour in their youth be to seeke out a skillfull phisitian of the soule, who both can and will guide vs in the path of Catholike doctrine and dutie, and when we haue found such a one, to follow his counsell precisely, and make the secretts of our harts knowen to him. This dutiefulnesse of the ghostlie childe to so rare a father, made *Colett* also admire this yong man's towardlienesse, so that this Doctour would professe to manie, and at sundrie times say, that there was but one witt in England, and that was yong THOMAS MORE; althoug manie flourishing youthe at that time liued in England, which were of hopefull expectation. And no doubt but God did further him with particular grace and towardlienesse, because he was so extraordinarily deuout, so that I doe imagine it may be sayd of Sir THOMAS MORE, which *S. Thomas of Aquine* wittnesseth of himselfe, that

(a) Matt. v. 6.

that he learned more by praier and spirituall exercises, then euer he could doe by anie studie. For to what studie soeuer Sir THOMAS applied himselfe, he grew in short time most famous therein. And first how great a Poet he was accounted euen in his youth, we haue already partly spoken of; then what Declamations he made full of all Rhetoricall eloquence to the amazement of all his auditorie, manie haue wittnesed, who heard them, and haue read them; how pure a Latine stile he attayned vnto, his singular epistles yet extant to diuerse personages doe euidently shewe, so that one would imagine he had spent all his life time in Humanitie only. And although his aptnesse for eloquence seemed farre to disagree from the serious studies of the Common Law of this land, so that few could suppose such a witt would haue had the patience to haue taken a law booke in hand, yet such was his obedience to his father that at his command he studied the Law diligently.

7. (a) He vsed to eate at his meales but of one dish, which was most commonly powdered biefe, or some such like salte meate; although his table was alwaies furnished with much varietie; and what meate he first tasted on, the same would he for that time make his whole refection of. In his youth he abstained wholly from wine; and in his latter yeares he would taste thereof, but first it must

(a) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 226.

be well alayed with water; as *Erasmus* to *Huttenus* wittnesseth.

He had noe care what apparrell he wore: in so much that being once tolde by his secretarie Mr. *Harris*, that his shoes were all torne, he bad him tell his man, that looked vnto him thereof, to buy him new, whome for this cause he called his Tutour; for he bought and made all his apparrell at his owne discretion, Sir THOMAS neuer busying his head about such matters; choosng rather to be in all things at the discretion of other men, then at his owne guiding, that he might in all his actions exercise the chiefe vertues of a Christian man, obedience and humilitie. Yea although he were most wise and dexterous in discerning truth from falshood, and vertue from cloaked vice; yet would he for the most parte in his greatest affaires and studies aske his man *Harris* his aduise and counsell; and if he thought the contrarie better, he would willingly submitt himselfe to his opinion. And indeede *Harris* was a man of good vnderstanding and iudgement, and a very trustie seruant.

8. These were the foundations, on which he layde his future building; which by how much the more it was to be rayfed to splendour and beautie, by so much he layd his ground worke of humilitie the lower; and whatsoeuer hardnesse he vsed secretely, still kept he in outward semblance a singular alacritie, being merry in companie and full of ieaftes;



ieastes; especially eschewing the vice of singularitie; yea he was verie cunning in dissembling his vertues, so that few came to knowe, what holie exercises he practised; euen as in his writings he often fayned matters cunningly to haue heard them of others, which he himself had inuented, as in his preface to his *Vtapia* he artificially discourseth as though *Raphael Hitblodius* had tolde that whole storie vnto him; *commento periucundo*, as (a) *Paulus Iouius* doth testifye. So he fayned as though an Englishman called *Rosse* had pleasantly confuted *Luther*s booke, as he discoursed with his hoste in *Italie*, who afterward published all their communication in printe, by which meanes *Luther* could neuer learne, who he was that answered him after his owne furious fashon, which angred him sore; lastly his three bookes of Comfort in tribulation, a worke most excellent and diuine, he inuented to haue bene spoken by two *Hungarian* kinsmen about the Turkes persecution; but thereby he most liuely represented the terrible stormes of crueltie, which king *Henrie* the eight, and heresie would raise in our poore distressed Countrie.

(a) In elogiis doctorum virorum, tit. 89. *Mori nomen in Utopia perenni constantiae laude fruitur. In ea enim beatæ gentis regione optimis instituta legibus, ac opulenta pace florentem Rempublicam elegantissime descripsit, quum damnatos corrupti seculi mores fastidiret, ut ad bene beatæq; viuendum commento periuicundo rectissima via monstraretur.*

CHAP. II.

Sir THOMAS MORE his mariage, first preferment, and serious writings: with his danger in time of K. Henry 7. and entry into fauour with King Henry 8.

1. *S. Thomas Mores first mariage and wife.*
2. *His second mariage with a widowe.* 3. *His integrity in profession of the Lawe.*
4. *He offendeth K. Henry 7. by crossing in parlament an iniust imposition.* 5. *The beginning of his fauour with King Henry the eight.*
6. *His studious employments amidst his serious affaires.* 7. *The first honours bestowed by K. Henry 8. upon S. Thomas.*
8. *He is by the K. made speaker of the lower howse of parlament.* 9. *Cardinal wolseys proposition in parlament frustrated by S. Thom. More.* 10. *Sir Tho. made chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

1. **S**IR THOMAS MORE hauing determined by the aduise and direction of his ghostlie father to be a married man, there was at that time a pleasant conceipted gentleman of an ancient familie in *Essex* one Mr. (a) *Iohn Colte of New-hall*, from whome Sir *Henry Colt* that now liueth, is lineally de-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 3. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 2. p. 5.

scended,

scended, that inuited him to his house, being much delighted in his companie, and proffered vnto him the choyce of anie of his daughters, who were yong gentlewomen of verie good carriadge and complexions, and very religiously inclined, whose honest and sweete conuersation, whose vertuous education enflamed Sir THOMAS not a little; and although his affection most serued him to the second, for that he thought her the fayrest and best fauoured; yet when he thought with himselfe, that this would be a grieffe and some blemish in the eldest, to see her yonger sister preferred before her, he, of a kinde of compassion settled his fancie vpon the eldest, and soone after married her, with all her friends good liking.

Now when he began to be clogged with wife and familie, children also began to growe fast vpon him; for his wife, whose name was *Iane Colt*, as long as she liued with him, which was but some six yeares, brought vnto him almost euerie yeare a childe, for whose maintenance he applyed himself busily to the practise of the law; and because he would haue his wife neare vnto his father, he placed her in Bucklers-bury (a). By her he had one sonne

(a) Dr. Stapleton in Vit. Tho. Mori, cap. 10. p. 252. has given a more perfect account of the Descendants of Sir Thomas More, which for the Reader's satisfaction we will here set down. *Habuit Thomas Morus ex priore coniuge, (nam ex secundâ, quam viduam duxit, nullos suscepit liberos) filium unum Joannem Morum, filias tres, Margaretam, Elisabetham, Caci-liam. Margareta nupsit Gulielmo Ropero, qui ex eâ suscepit duos filios, Thomam & Antonium; tres filias, Elisabetham, Mariam, Mar-garetam.*



sonne called *Iohn More* my owne grandfather, who was his youngest childe, and three daughters; his eldest daughter *Margarett*, a woman of singular witt and wisedome, rare pietie, and extraordinarie learning, was wife vnto *William Rooper of Eltham* in the countie of *Kent* esquier, whose grandchilde now liuing is *Sir William Rooper*; his second daughter called *Elizabeth* was afterward matched with *Sir Iohn Dancy's* sonne and heyre; the third called *Cicilie* was married to *Mr. Giles Heron of Shakelwell* in the Countie of *Middlesex* esquier: his sonne my grandfather married *Anne Cresacre* sole daughter and heyre of *Edward Cresacre* deceased of *Baronborough* in the Countie of *Torke* esquier, whome *Sir THOMAS* bought of the King being his warde, vpon errour for another bodie's land lying in the same towne, as was afterware proued.

2. My great grandmother hauing brought forth these foure children, dyed soone after,

*garetam. Quarum Maria matris indolem proximè sequuta foemina fuit doctissima, & Reginae Maria pedissequa honoraria. Vertit illa ex Latino in Anglicum illam expositionis partem in passionem Domini, quam Thomas Morus Latine scripserat, ita puro ac eleganti stilo, ut difficulter ab aui stilo decernatur. Vertit eadem Eusebii historiam Ecclesiasticam à Graeco in Latinum, sed propter exactiorem Christophorsoni episcopi versionem non prodit in lucem. Elisabetham secundam Thomae Mori filiam duxit in uxorem Ioannes Damsaeus, & ex eâ habuit filios quinque, Joannem, Thomam, Bartholomaeum, Gulielmum, Germanum; filias duas, Aliciam & Elisabetham. Ceciliam tertiam Mori filiam uxorem habuit Aegidius Geron, & ex eâ filios duos Joannem & Thomam; filiam unicam, Annam. Ioannes Morus, unicuius Thoma Mori filius Annam Grysaeriam uxorem duxit, ex quâ suscepit filios quinque, Thomam, Augustinum, Eduardum, Bartholomaeum, & alium Thomam; filiam unam, Annam.*

and

and within two or three yeases he married a widdow called *Mrs. Alice Middleton*, by whome he had no children; this he did not of anie concupiscence; for he would (a) often affirme, that Chastitie is more hardly kept in wedlock, then in a single life, but because she might haue care of his children, that were verie yong, from whome of necessitie he must be verie often absent; she was of good yeares, of no good fauour nor complexion, nor verie rich, by disposition verie neare and worldlie. I have heard it reported, he wooed her for a friend of his, not once thinking to haue her himself; but she wisely answering him, that he might speede, if he would speake in his owne behalfe, telling his friend, what she had sayd unto him, with his good liking he married her, and did that which otherwise he would perhaps neuer haue thought to haue donne. And indeede her fauour, as I thinke, could not haue bewitched or scarce euer moued anie man to loue her; but yet she proued a kinde and carefull mother-in-law to his children, as he was alwaies a most louing father vnto them, and not only to his own, but to

(a) This Story is taken from Dr. Stapleton, *Vit. Th. Mori*, cap. 2. p. 161. *Sed cum exercitiis illis praeditis adhibitis motus carnis, qui in iuventutis flore & ardore accidere solent, euincere non posse sibi videretur, uxorem ducere instituit. Solebat hac ille postea narrare non sine magnâ animi tristitiâ & moerore, dicebatque multò esse facilius legem carnis in coelibatu vincere, quàm in matrimonio.* This position is so very extraordinary, that I am apt to suspect Dr. Stapleton's credit; it seems to be a direct contradiction to the Apostolical precept, *Nevertheless to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.* 1 Cor. vii. 2.

her

her daughter also, who was married to *Mr. Alington*, and mother to *Sir Giles Alington*. He brought vp togeather with his owne children as one of them (a) *Margarett Gigs*, after wife to Doctour *Clement*, a famous phisitian; and she proued also very famous for her manie excellent partes, as learning, vertue and wisedome. All these he bred most carefully to learning and godlie exercises, often exhorting them, to take vertue for their meate, and play for their sawce; getting them good meanes to maintaine them by his practise in the law, which he had first (b) studied in an Inne of Chancerie called New-Inne, where he profited exceedingly, and from thence went to *Lincolnes-Inne*, of which house his father then was, where he allotted him small allowance for the reasons before alleaged, and, as it seemed, then his great patron the good Cardinal was dead.

3. But he plyed that studie whereto he gaue himself, being apt to anie, that in short time he was made and accounted a (c) worrhie Outer-barister; yea still proceeding with most notable fame, (d) he became a *double reader*,

(a) Stapleton. Vit Th. Mori, cap. 10. p. 253.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 3. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 1. p. 3, 4.

(c) Read worrhie.

(d) What is here express'd by a *double reader* is explain'd by Dr. Stapleton. in Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 1. p. 168. *Furi municipali seu legum Britannicarum studio operam dedit, in eoque tantos progressus fecit, ut tum in hoc Fure bis legerit, vacationum tempore, quod à festo S. Joann. Baptista usque ad S. Michaelem excurrit. Est autem hoc legendi munus valde apud nostros splendidum, quod non nisi senioribus desertur, & non nisi à peritissimis exercetur,*



to which few but rare and singular lawyers doe euer attaine. Euerie one beganne to admire him both for a man of iudgement, vp-rightnesse and other excellent partes, a readie deliuerie, boldenesse in a iust cause, and diligence in his Clients case, and no great taker of money, vnlesse he had throughly deserued. For which causes euerie man strived to have him of their Counsell in all suits. (a) The Cittie of London chose him within a while, Iudge of the Shrief's Court, some say, Recorder of London, which I thinke not; yea there was not at that time anie matter of importance in anie of the King's Courts of this realme but he was of counsell to one of the parties, still choosing the iustest side, and therefore for the most parte he went away victorious. By all which meanes he gott yearely, as he tolde his sonne *Rooper*, without anie grudge of conscience, to the value of foure hundred pounds, which was a large gaynes in those daies, when lawyers spedde not so well as now they doe, neither were they then so plentiefull; but his fame exceeded all other. Wherefore he was chosen twice Agent for the *Still-yard*-marchents, which busines he dispatched with singuler dexteritie.

*dur, reliquis minus idoneis magnam quandam pecunia taxam lectura loco solventibus.* See also Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 4.

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 169. *Circa annum atatis 28. electus est populi Londinensis consensu, qui in eâ celeberrimâ urbe & totius Angliæ Metropoli pro Shyrewo jus diceret. Sunt autem in illâ urbe annui magistratus tres, unus Prætor, quem Majorem*

4. (a) King *Henrie* the Seauenth then rainging, was a prince of singuler vertues, as wisdom and religion, if that couetousnesse, the roote of all mischiefe, had not seized upon him towards his latter daies, which caused him to lay vpon his subiects manie Impositions, and to raise fore exactions by two Caterpillers of the Common-wealth *Emson* and *Dudley*, who in the beginning of *Henrie* the Eighth's raigne were rewarded according to their deserts for their wicked counsell, to teache other men by their deathes how Iniustice and rapine is punished by God. This King, I say, had called together a Parlement, wherein he demanded one Subsidie and three Fifteenes for the marriage of his eldest daughter the Ladie *Margaret's* Grace, who then should be, as she was in deede shortly after, bestowed vpon the King of *Scotts*. It chanced that Sir THOMAS was then one of the Burgesse; For manie had now taken notice of his great sufficiencie. When the consent of the Lower house was demanded to these impositions, most of the rest either holding their peace, or not daring

*jorem vocant, & duo Shyreui. Sed quia hi plerumque, imò fere semper, Furis dicendi imperiti sunt, est unus perpetuus (ut in Fure vocatur) Syndicus civitatis, qui pro istis Shyreuis jus dicit, Judicisque urbani officio fungitur.* This seems to be a mistake in Dr. Stapleton. Mr. Roper, in his Life of Sir Tho. More, makes him no more than one of the Under-Sheriffs, p. 5. and Mr. Hoddesdon says the same thing, Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 3. p. 9.

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 4, 5. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 181. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 2. p. 6.

to gaineſay them (though they were vnwilling to grant them) Sir THOMAS making a graue ſpeache, brought forth ſuch vrgent arguments, why theſe exactions were not to be granted, that herevpon the King's demaunde was croſſed, and his requeſt denyed ; ſo that one *Mr. Tiler* one of the King's priuie Chamber went preſently from the houſe, and tolde his Maieſtie, that a beardeleſſe boy had diſappointed him of all his expectation ; wherevpon the king conceaued great indignation againſt him, and could no way be ſatiſfied, vntill he had in ſome ſorte reuenged it.

(a) But for as much as he hauing yet but a litle, could not looſe much, the king deuifed a Cauſeleſſe quarrell againſt *Sir Iohn More* his moſt innocent father, and clapt him vp in the Tower of London, keeping him there priſoner, vntill he had forced him againſt all Iuſtice to pay one hundred pounds as a fyne for a Cauſeleſſe offence. Manie alſo then counſelled Sir THOMAS MORE to aſke the king mercie, that his father might be releaſed, amongſt whome was Doctour *Fox* then Biſhopp *Wincheſter* one of the king's priuie Councell, who pretended great loue towards *Mr. More*, purpoſing indeede to gett the king thereby a better meanes to reuenge his diſpleaſure againſt him. But when Sir THOMAS had aſked the Biſhop's Chaplaine

(a) Hoddeſdon's Hiſt. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 2. p. 7, 8.  
Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 4, 5.



Doctour *Whittford* a verie holie and graue man, afterward a Father of *Sion*, he that translated the *Following of Christ* into English, what he were best to doe, he requested him for the passion of Christ not to follow his Lord's aduise, saying moreouer that the Bishop would not sticke to agree to the (a) dearch of his owne father, if it were to serue the king's turne. For which cause he returned no more to my Lo: of *Winchester*, but determined to haue gone ouer sea, thinking he could not liue in England without great danger, standing now in the king's displeasure; and therefore he studied the French tounge at home, sometimes recreating his tyred spiritts on the violl; where he also perfected himself in most of the Liberall Sciences, as Musike, Arithmetike, Geometrie and Astronomy, and grew to be a perfect historian; his chiefe helpe in all these labours being his happie memorie, of which he modestly (b) speaketh thus; I would I had as good a witt, and as much learning *vt memoria non vsquequaque destituor*, as my memorie doth not altogether fayle me.

But king (c) *Henrie* dying shortly after, and his sonne king *Henrie* the Eighth striuing at the beginning of his raigne to winne the

(a) Read *death*.

(b) In his Epistle to Petrus Aegidius set before his *Utopia*, and quoted by Dr. Stapleton in his Life of Sir Tho. More, cap. 2. p. 167.

(c) Stapleton. *Vit. Th. Mori*, cap. 3. p. 181.

applause of his people, cast *Emson* and *Dudley* into prison, and attaynted them of high treason for giuing pernicious counsell to his father their prince; and when they were going to execution Sir THOMAS asked *Dudley* whether he had had not donne better then they; to whome with a sorrowfull hart he answered: "O Mr. MORE, God was your good friend, that you did not aske the king forgiuenesse, as manie would have had you donne; for if you had donne so, perhaps you should haue bene in the like case with vs now." So that to shunne present dangers by offending God or our Countrie, is not alwaies the safest way euen for our bodilie good, the contrarie turning oftentimes to our great fame, glorie and profit.

5. These great partes of nature and diligence, which euerie one noted in Sir THOMAS MORE coming to the yong king's care, who was at that time greedie to entertaine all rare men into his seruice, (a) he caused Cardinal *Wolsey* then Lo: Chancellour to moue him to come to the Court; and albeit the Cardinal laboured earnestly with him to effect it, alleadging how deare his seruice would be to his Maiestie, who could not with his honour allowe him lesse then he should loose by changing his former estate, but rather would enlarge his meanes, and recompence him fully; yet loath to change his estate, (which was cer-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 5. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 3. p. 10.

taine) made such meanes to the king by the Cardinall, as that his Maiestie was at that time satisfied to forbear him.

Yet did the king vse him in diuerse Embassages, (a) first sending him in to *France* to challenge certaine debts, which the king of *England* demaunded to be due vnto him, that had bene there vniustly kept back, in which charge he satisfied both the kings fully; such was his wise demeanour and sufficiencie. After this he was also sent Embassadour into *Flanders* to confirme a league betwixt *England* and *Burgundie*, which he happily finishing, the king offered him at his returne a yearlie pension, which Sir THOMAS refused, as he (b) writeth to *Erasmus* in these words:

*When I returned from my embassy of Flanders, the king's Maiestie would haue giuen me a yearlie pension, which surely, if one would respect honour and profitt, was not to be little esteemed; yet haue I as yet refused it, and I thinke I shall refuse it still; because either I should be fayne to forsake my present meanes, which I haue alreadie in the Cittie*

(a) In both these Embassys he was joyn'd in Commission with Cardinal Wolsey, according to Mr. Hoddesdon, Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 5. p. 26. But Mr. Roper's words, from whence his Account appears to have been taken, do not seem to imply so much. *Who beinge Chaucellour of the Duchie was made Embassadour twise, joyned in commission with Cardinal Wolsey once to the Emperour Charles into Flaunders, the other tyme to the French King into Fraunce.* Life of Sir Tho. More, pag. 13.

(b) Inter epist. Erasmi. lib. 2. p. 83. and quoted by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 170.



(and I esteeme it more then a better) or else I must keepe it with some dislike of the Citizens, betweene whome and his Highnesse if there should happen anie controuersie (as sometimes it doth chance) about their priuiledges, they might suspect me as not sincere and trustie vnto them, in respect I am obliged to the king with an annuall stipende.

6. About this time he compounded his famous booke of *Vtopia* in latine so much praised and extolled by all the learned men of that age, about the yeare of our Lord 1516 being six and thirtie yeares of age. This booke was of all Nations so much applauded, that very shortly after it was translated both into French, Italian, Dutch and English. The iudgement of diuerse learned men concerning which worke, I thinke good to sett downe here in English as (a) Doctour Stapleton reciteth them in his *Three Thomases* in Latine. And first *Budæus* a singular writer in those daies sayth thus of it in an epistle to *Lupsetus*: *We are beholding to Thomas More for the discovery of Vtopia, wherein he hath diuulged to the world in this our age a patterne of a happie life, and a perfect rule of good behauiour. This age and our posteritie shall haue this historie as a Seminarie of most holesome doctrine and profitable instructions, from whence they may transporte and accommodate euerie one to their owne Citties and Countries these*

(a) Vir. Tho. Mori, cap. 4. p. 184, &c.

excellent ordinances and decrees. Iohn Paludan to Peter Giles speaketh thus thereof; you may see in Vtopia as in a looking-glasse, whatsoeuer belongeth to a perfect Communion Wealth. England truly hath manie excellent learned men. For what may we coniecture of the rest, if More alone hath perfourmed so much? being first but a yong man, and then full of businesses both publike, and domesticall, and lastly professing anie thing rather then learning. Peter Giles also to Hierome Buslidian speaketh thus, and giueth it this praise: So manie wonders doe here meete togeather, that I am in a doubt which first to admire, whether his most happie memorie, which could almost word for word relate so manie different things againe, hauing but heard them once tolde, or his wisedome for marking and setting forth all the fountaines, from whence either the happinesse or mischiefes of anie Common wealth do arise; or the elegancie and force of his stile, who hath with such pure Latine, and such vigour of speach comprized so manie and sundrie matters; especially one that is so much distracted both with publike and priuate affayres. Buslidian a great Counsellour of Charles the Fift Emperour in a letter to Sir THOMAS sayth: In the happie description of your Vtopian Common-wealth, there is nothing missing, which might shew most excellent learning togeather with an absolute knowledge of all humane things. For you excell in sundrie sciences, and haue such  
great

great and certaine knowledge of things besides, that you affirme euerie matter in writing, as though you had tryed euerie thing by experience before, and you write most eloquently whatsoeuer you affirme; a maruelous and rare happienesse; and the more rare, by how much the fewer can attaine therevnto. And further in the sayd letter he affirmeth that this *Vtopian* Common wealth farre exceedeth the *Lacedemonian*, the *Athenian*, yea euen that of the *Romans* itselſe, in that it seeketh not so much to make manie lawes, as it labour-eth to prouide good and vpright Magistrates; by whose prototypon, that is, the patterne of their honestie, the example of their manners and behauiour, and the pourtraicture of their Iustice, the whole state and true gouernement of euerie perfect Common wealth may be framed. *Paulus Iouius* in his (a) booke of the praises of learned men speaketh thus: *Mores fame will alwaies laste in his Vtopia; for he therein hath described a kingdome well gouerned with holesome lawes, and much flourishing, with riche peace, shewing how he loathed the corrupt manners of this wicked age, and endeauouring by a pleasant fiction to leade the right pathe to a blessed and most happie life, &c.* Finally *Hutten*, *Uiues*, *Grapheus* and *Lacius* affirme that Sir THOMAS had an incomparable witt; greater then a man's witt, *pene diuinum*, yea almost diuine.

(a) *Elog. doctorum virorum*, tit. 89.



About this time he also wrote for his exercise the historie of king *Richard* the third, (a) both in Latine and English, which is so well penned that if our Chronicles of England were halfe so well sett out, they would entice all English men to reade them ouer often. These his workes sett out at that time, when he was most employed in other mens affayres, shew how diligent and industrious he was. For thus he writeth in his *Vtopia*: *Whilst I daily either pleade other mens causes, or heare them sometimes as an arbiter, otherwhiles as a Iudge, whilst this man I visite for friendshipp, another for busineses, and whilst I busie my selfe abroad about other mens matters all the whole day; I leaue no time for my selfe, that is for studie. For when I come home; I must discourse with my wife, chatte with my children, speake with my seruants; and seing this must needes be donne, I number it amongst my affaires; and needefull they are, vnlesse one will be a stranger in his owne house; for we must endeaour to be affable and pleasing vnto those, whome either nature, chance, or choice hath made our companions;*

(a) Dr. Stapleton says, the Latin work was no other than an Abridgment of the English History, which Sir. Tho. More had before written of K. Richard's Life. *Scriptit porro eodem fere tempore historiam Richardi Regis Angliae ejus nominis tertii Latine; Anglice illam multo ante & plenius & elegantius descripsit.* Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 186. This Book was never quite finish'd, and was first publish'd in English under Sir Tho. More's Name at London, 1651. in 8vo. but it had before been printed in Latin, in 1566. See Mr. Hearne's Collections before Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 31.

but

but with such measure it must be donne, that we doe not marre them with affabilitie, or make them of seruants our maisters, by too much gentle entreatie and fauour; whilst these things are doing, a day, a moneth, a yeare passeth. When then can I finde anie time to write? for I haue not yet spoken of the time that is spent in eating and sleeping; which things alone bereaue most men of halfe their life. As for me I gett only that spare time, which I steale from my meate and sleepe, which because it is but small, I proceed slowly; yet it being somewhat, I haue now at the length preuailed so much as I haue finished, and sent unto you, Peter, my Vtopia.

Besides all this to shew the more his excellent partes of readie vtterance, pleasant conceits and sharpenesse of witt, cuen to the admiration of all men, (a) he read a lecture in *S. Laurence church at Lothburie*, where *Sir Iohn More* his father lieth buried, out of *S. Augusten's* bookes *De Ciuitate Dei*, not so much discussing the points of Diuinitie, as the precepts of morall philosophie and historie, where with these bookes are replenished. And he did this with such an excellent grace that whereas before all the flower of English youthes went to heare the famous *Grocinus*, who was lately come out of *Italie* to teache Greeke in the publike vniuersitie, vnder whome as also that

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 3. Vit. Tho. Mori, aut. Stapletono, cap. 2. p. 160. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Th. More, chap. 1. p. 4.

famous Grammarian *Linacre* Sir THOMAS himself had profitted greatly, of whome he had *Aristotle's* workes interpreted in Greeke, now all England almost left his lecture, and flocked to heare Sir THOMAS MORE.

7. (a) It fortun'd shortly after that a shippe of the Popes arriued at *Southampton*, which the King claimed as a forfeiture; yet the pope's legate so wrought with the king that though it was seysed on, yet he obtained to haue the matter pleaded by learned Councell. For the Pope's side as their principall man was chosen Sir THOMAS MORE; and a day of hearing being appointed before the Lo: Chancelour and other the chiefe Iudges in the *Starre-chamber* Sir THOMAS argued so learnedly and forcibly in defence of the pope's parte, that the aforesayd forfeiture was restored, and he amongst all the audience so highly commended for his admirable and wittie arguing, that for no intreatie would the king anie longer forbear to vse him. Wherefore he brought him perforce to the Court and made him of his Priuie Counsell, as Sir THOMAS testifyeth himselfe in a letter to that worthie prelate *Iohn Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, (b) saying: *I am come to the Court extreamely against my will, as euerie bodie knoweth, and as the king himself often twiteth me in sporte for it. And hereto do I hang so vnseemely as a man not*

(a) The Life of Sir Tho. More, by Mr. Roper, p. 6. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Th. More, chap. 3. p. 10.

(b) See Stapleton's Life of Sir Th. More, cap. 7. p. 229, &c.



vsing to ride doth sitt vnhanfomely in his saddle. But our Prince, whose speciall and extraordinary fauour towards me I knowe not how I euer shall be able to deserue, is so affable and courteous to all men, that euerie one, who hath neuer so little hope of himselfe, may finde somewhat, whereby he may imagine, that he loueth him; euen as the Cittizens wiues of London doe, who imagine that our ladie's picture neare the tower doth smile vpon them, as they pray before it. But I am not so happie, that I can perceauie such fortunate signes of deseruing his loue, and of a more abiect spiritt, then that I can perswade myselfe that I haue it already; yet such is the vertue and learning of the king, and his daily increasing industrie in both, that by how much the more I see his Highnesse increase in these kinglie ornaments, by so much the lesse troublesome this Courtier's life seemeth unto me.

And indeede king *Henrie's* Court for the first twentie yeares was a seate of manie excellent witts, a pallace of rare vertues, according as (a) *Erasmus* wittnesseth thereof in an e-

(a) This quotation is taken from Dr. Stapleton's Life of Sir Th. More, cap. 7. p. 230. "Qua de re sic Erasmus in epist. ad Henricum Guilfordium scribit, lib. 13. epist. p. 427. *Fragrantia honestissimae fame, qua nusquam non divulgat Aulam Britannicam, praeter Regem omnibus absoluti principis dotibus egregie cumulatum, & huic simillimam Reginam, tot insuper integris, eruditis, gravibus, cordatisque viris abundare, Principem Bergensem excitauit, ut Antonium filium non alteri scholae tradendum iudicaret, &c. anno 1519.*

pistle to *Henrie Gilford* a gentleman of an ancient familie. For thus he writeth: *The fragrant odour of the most honourable fame of the Court of England, which spreades it selfe ouer all the world, it hauing a king singularly endewed with all princelie excellencies, a Queene most like vnto him, and a number of sincere, learned, graue and wise personages belonging vnto it, hath stirred vp the prince of Berghes to putt his sonne Antony to no other schoole but that.*

Within a while after the king had created him one of his high Councillours of state, perceauing euerie day more and more his fidelitie, vprightnesse, dexteritie, & wisedome, dubbed him knight, and after Mr. Weston's death he made him Threasurer of the exchequer, a place of great trust; of which increase of honour *Erasmus* writeth to (a) *Cochleus*, saying: *When you write next to MORE, you shall wish him ioy of his increase of dignitie and good fortune; For being before only of the king's priuie Councill, now of late by the beneuolence and free giuft of his most gracious prince, he neither desiring nor seeking for it,*

(a) It should be Goclenius. The Epistle is extant in the *Farrag. Epist. lib. 17. p. 537.* and is quoted by Dr. Stapleton in his *Life of Sir Th. More, cap. 3. p. 170.* *Quum scribes ad Morum, gratulaberis illi & dignitatis & fortunae accessionem. Nam quum antea Regi tantum esset à consiliis, nuper, nec ambiens nec expetens, ultroneo favore Principis humanissimi & Eques auratus factus est, & munus habet apud Britannos, cum honorificum in primis, tum etiam salarii non poenitendi, quod appellatur à Thesauris. Haec ad Conradum Goclenium Erasmus, mense Augusto, anno 1520.*

*is not only made knight, but Treasurer of the king's Exchequer; an office in England both honourable, and also commodious for the purse.* Yea (a) king Henrie finding still more and more sufficiencie in Sir THOMAS vsed him with particuler affection for the space of twentie yeares togeather; during a good parte whereof the king's custome was vpon holie daies, when he had donne his deuotions to sende for Sir THOMAS into his Trauerse, and there some times in matters of Astronomie, Geomitrie, and Diuinitie, and such other sciences, to sitt and conferre with him: otherwhiles also in the cleere nights he would haue him walke with him on the leads, there to discourse of the diuersitie of the courses, motions and operations of the starres, as well fixed as the planetts; And because he was of a verie pleasant disposition, it pleased his Maiestie and the Queene at supper time commonly to call for him to heare his pleasant ieaftes. But when Sir THOMAS perceaued his wittie conceipts so much to delight him, that he could scarce once in a moneth gett leaue to goe home to his wife and children, whome he had now placed at *Chelfey*, three miles from *London* by the water side; and that he could not be two daies absent from the Court, but he must be sent for againe, he much misliking this restraunte of his libertie, beganne

(a) Vit. Th. Mori, aut. Stapletono, cap. 3. p. 171. Hodsdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, cap. 3. p. 11, &c.



therevpon to dissemble his mirth, and so by little and little to disvse himselfe, that he from thenceforth at such seasons was no more so ordinarily sent for.

The great respect, which the Cittie of *London* bare vnto him caused the king as a speciall man to sende Sir THOMAS to appease the apprentices, which were risen vp in a mutine against the strangers that dwelt then amongst them, vpon a May day : and surely Sir THOMAS had quicted them wholly and soone, had not an extraordinarie chance hindred it in *St. Martins*, as *Stowe* witnesseth.

The king vsed also of a particular loue to come on a suddain to *Chelsey*, where Sir THOMAS now liued ; and leaning vpon his shoulder to talke with him of secrett counsell in his gardin, yea and to dine with him vpon no inuiting.

8. In the fourteenth yeare of the raigne of king *Henry* the eight, there was a parlement held, and thereof (which was a strange thing) Sir THOMAS MORE was chosen Speaker for the Lower house, being now one of the Prince Counsell ; who being very loath to take this charge vpon him, made a worthie Oration to the King's Ma.tie (not now extant) whereby he earnestly laboured to be discharged of the sayd place of Speakerhipp ; wherevnto his Highnesse would by no meanes giue consent.

At the beginning of Parlament he made another Oration, the points whereof are very wisely sett downe by my vncke *Rooper* in his

(a) Life of Sir THOMAS MORE; and they are these: Since I perceave, most redoubted So-  
 ueraigne, that it accordeth not to your high  
 pleasure to reforme this election, and cause it  
 to be changed, but haue by the mouth of the  
 right Reuerend Father in God the Legate  
 (who was then Cardinal Wolsey) your high  
 Chancellour therevnto giuen your assent, and  
 haue of your benignitie farre aboue that I may  
 beare, to enable me and for this office to re-  
 pute me fitt rather then that you would seeme  
 to imputte to your Commons, that they had  
 vnmetely chosen me, I am therefore, and al-  
 waies shall be readie obediently to conformance  
 myself to the accomplishment of your high com-  
 maunde. And then he maketh two humble  
 petitions; the one concerning himself, the  
 other, the whole assemblie. The first; that if  
 he should chance to mistake his message, or  
 for lacke of good vtterance by misrehearsall  
 peruert their prudent instructions, that his  
 Ma.<sup>tie</sup> would then pardon his simplicitie, and  
 suffer him to repayre vnto them againe for  
 their more substantiall aduise. His other re-  
 quest vnto the King's Maiestie was, that it  
 would please his inestimable goodnesse to par-  
 don freely, without doubt of his dreadfull  
 displeasure, whatsoever it shall happen anie  
 man to say there, interpreting euerie man's  
 wordes, how vncomely soeuer they were couch-  
 ed, to proceede of a good zeale towards the

(a) Pag. 7. See also Hoddefdon's Hist. of Sir Th. More,  
 chap. 3. p. 12.

*profit of the realme, and the honour of his royall person.*

9. Cardinal *Wolsey* found himself much grieved at the Burgessees, that nothing could be either donne or spoken in both the houses, but it was immediately blowen abroad in euerie ale house. It fortun'd after that a great Subsidie was to be demaunded, and the Cardinall fearing it would not passe the lower house, vnlesse he were there present himself before whose coming it was long debated, whether they should admitt him with a few of the Lords, as the most opinion of the house was, or that they should receaue him with his whole trayne. "Maisters, (a) quoth Sir THOMAS, "for as much as my Lo: Cardinal lately, ye "woote well, layde to our charge the light- "nesse of our tounge, for things vttered out "of this house, it should not in my minde "be amisse to receaue him with all his pompe, "with his Maces, his Pillers, his Polaxes, his "Crosse, his hatt, and the Great Seale too, "to the intent, that if he finde the like faulte "with vs then, we may lay the blame vpon "those, whome his Grace bringeth with him." Vpon which words the House wholly agreed, and so he was receaued accordingly. There the Cardinal with a sollemne speache by manie reasons proued, how necessarie it was that the demaunde there moued should be granted, but he seing the companie silent, contrarie to his

(a) The Life of Sir Th. More, by Mr. Roper, p. 10. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 4, p. 18.



expectation, shewing no inclination thereto, demanded of them some reasonable answer; but when euerie one still held their peace, he spake in particular to (a) *Mr. Murrey*; who making no answer neither, he asked others also; but they all had determined to answer him by their Speaker: Who spake therefore reuerently on his knees, excusing the silence of the house abashed, as he sayd, at the sight of so noble a personage, who was able to amaze the wisest and best learned in the realme. Yet with manie probable arguments he proued this his manner of coming to be neither expedient, nor agreeable to the ancient liberties of that house; and for himself in conclusion he shewed, that except all they could putt their sundrie witts into his head, that he alone in so weightie a matter was vnmeete to make his Grace a sufficient answer. Wherevpon the Cardinal displeased with Sir THOMAS that he had not in that parlement satisfiied his expectation, suddenly rose in a rage and departed. And afterwards in his gallerie at *Witeball* he vttered vnto him his grieffe, saying; "I would to God you had bene at *Rome*,  
 " *Mr. MORE*, when I made you Speaker.  
 " Your Grace not offended, so would I too,  
 " my Lord," replied Sir THOMAS, " for (b)

(a) In *Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More*, this Gentleman is nam'd *Marney*, p. 11. And in a MS. collated by Mr. Hearne, 'tis said, he was *after Lord Marney*, Ibid. p. 280. Mr. Hoddesdon calls him *Murrey*, and says he was afterwards *Lord Murrey*. *Hist. of Sir Th. More*, ch. 4. p. 19.

(b) These last words are omitted in *Sir Th. More's Life* by Mr. Roper, from whom the rest of the Account seems to have

“ then should I haue seene the place I long haue  
 “ desired to visite.” And when the Cardinal  
 walked without anie more speache, he beganne  
 to talke to him of that fayre Gallerie of his,  
 saying : This Gallerie of yours, my Lord,  
 pleaseth me much better then your other at  
*Hampton court* ; with which digression he  
 broke of the Cardinal’s displeasent talke, that  
 his Grace at that present wist not more what to  
 say vnto him.

(a) But for a reuenge of his displeasure he  
 counselled the king to send him his Embas-  
 sadour Leger into *Spayne*, commending to his  
 Highnesse, his learning, wisedome and fittnesse  
 for that voyage, the difficultie of manie mat-  
 ters considered betweene the Emperor *Charles*  
 the Fift and our realme, so as none was so well  
 able to serue his Maiestie therein ; which the  
 king broke to Sir THOMAS. But when Sir  
 THOMAS had declared to the king, how vn-  
 meete that iournie was for him, the nature of  
*Spayne* so much disagreing with his constitution,  
 that he was vnlike to doe his Soueraigne accep-  
 table seruice there, being that it was probable,  
 that he should send him to his graue ; yet for all  
 that he shewed himself readie, according as dutie  
 bound him, were it with the losse of his life to  
 fullful his Maiestie’s pleasure in that behalfe. The  
 king most graciously replied thereto thus : “ It  
 “ is not our meaning Mr. MORE, to do you  
 aue been taken, but are mention’d by Dr. Stapleton, Vit.  
 Th. Mori, cap. 13. p. 285. Hoddesdon agrees with Mr.  
 Roper in the omission. Hist. of Sir Th. More, ch. 4. p. 20.  
 (a) Roper’s Life of Sir Th. More, p. 12. Hoddesdon’s Hist.  
 of Sir Th. More, ch. 4. p. 21.

“ anie hurt, but to do you good, we could  
 “ be glad: We will therefore employe your  
 “ seruice otherwise;” and so would not per-  
 mitt him to goe that long iourney.

10. For the king’s wisedome perceaued that the Cardinall beganne to growe ialous of Sir THOMAS MORE’s greatnesse, fearing that (which after happened) he would outstrippe him in the king’s gracious fauour, who stil heaped more honour vpon Sir THOMAS; and although he was neuer the man that asked the king anie request for himselfe; yet vpon the death of (a) *Sir Richard Winckfield*, who had bene Chancelour of the Dutchie of *Lancaster*, that dignitie was bestowed vpon Sir THOMAS MORE. Of which his honour *Erasmus* writing to *Cochlie* biddes him to sende Congratulatorie letters vnto him, saying, that he came vnto it *nec ambiens nec expetens, vltroneo fauore Principis humanissimi*, that is, neither ambitiously seeking it, nor once asking it, but by the meere fauour of his most gracious Prince.

King *Henry* tooke such extraordinarie loue in Sir THOMAS his companie, that he would sometimes on a suddain, as before I touched come ouer to his house at *Chelsey* and be merrie with him; whither on a time unlooked for, he came and dined at his house. And after dinner walked with him the space of an hower, holding his arme about his necke most louingly in the gardin. When his Maiestie

(a) Mr. Roper calls him Sir Richard Winfeild, and Mr. Hoddesdon names him Wingfield. See the Life of Sir Th. More by the former, p. 12. and the Hist. of Sir Th. More by the latter, p. 22.

was



was gone, (a) my vncle *Rooper* reioyced thereat, and tolde his father, how happie he was, for that the king had shewed him such extraordinary signes of loue, as he had neuer seen him doe to anie other, except the Cardinal, whome he saw with the king once walke arme in arme. Whereto Sir THOMAS answering sayd: I thank our Lord God, I finde his Grace my verie good Lord indeed; and I belieue he doth as singularly fauour me as anie other subiect, within this realme; howbeit, sonne *Rooper*, I may tell you, I haue no cause to be proude thereof; for if my head would winne him a Castle in *France* (for then there was warres betweene *France* and vs) it should not faile to go of. By which wordes he euidently shewed, how little he ioyed either in the king's fauour, or in his worldlie honour, piercing with his singuler eie of iudgement into king *Henry's* nature; that what shew of friendship focuer he made to anie, yet he loued none but to serue his owne turne; and no longer was anie in his fauour, but as long as they applyed themselues to his humours; yet could he not choose but loue Sir THOMAS for his singular partes, his profound iudgement, his pleasant witt, and intire sinceritie; for which causes the rare and admirable Queene (b) *Catherine* king *Henrie's* first wife would often say, that the king her husband had but one sound Counseller in his kingdome, mean-

(a) See Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 12, &c.

(b) Vit. Th. Mori, autore Stapletono, cap. vii. p. 229.

ing Sir THOMAS MORE; for the rest she sayd that either they spoke as the king would haue them, or had not such matter of iudgement in them; and as for Cardinal *Wolsey*, who was then the greatest subiect in the realme, for his owne benefitt and ende, he cared not what counsell he gaue the king. He was of base parentage, and as they say, a (a) butchers sonne of *Ipswich*; yet had he crept vp into fauour partely by his learning, partely by his nimble witt, and louelie carriage, whereby he could insinuate himself into great mens fauours; he had also a readie tounge and a bolde countenance, and had gotten manie spirituall liuings togeather, bestowing them vpon vanities, as great and sumptuous buildings, costlie bancketts, and greate magnificence; for he was vaine glorious aboue all measure, as may be seene by Sir THOMAS MORE's booke of Comfort in Tribulation; where he meaneth of him what is spoken vnder the name of a great Prelate of *Germanie*, who when he had made an oration before a great audience, would bluntely aske them that sate at his table with him, how they all liked it; but he that should bring forth a meane commendation of it, was sure to haue no thanks for his labour. And he there telleth further, how a great spirituall man, who should haue commended it last of all, was put to such a *non*

(a) See the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, by Dr. Fiddes, cap. 1. where something is offer'd towards a confutation of this Story.

*plus*, that he had neuer a word to say, but crying *oh*, and fetching a deepe sigh he cast his eies into the welking and wept. On a time the Cardinal had drawen a draught of certeine Conditions of peace, betweene *England* and *France*, and he asked *Sir Thomas More's* counsell therein, beseeching him earnestly that he would tell him if there were anie thing therein to be misliked. And he spake this so hartily (saith Sir THOMAS,) that he belieued verily that he was willing to hear his aduise indeede. But when Sir THOMAS had dealt really therein, and shewed wherein that draught might haue bene amended, he suddenly rose in a rage and sayd: By the masse, thou art the veriest foole of all the Counsell. At which Sir THOMAS smiling sayd: God be thanked that the king our Maister hath but one foole in all his Council. But we shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter of this Cardinal.

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## C H A P. III.

The Covrteous and meeke behaucour of Sir  
T H O M A S M O R E S ; his friends at home  
and abroad.

1. *The gentle disposition of S. T. More in all occasions.*
2. *His prompt and ready witt.*
3. *His friendship with learned men at home.*
4. *With learned men of other nations.*
5. *His pleasaunt and merry conuersation.*

I. **S**IR THOMAS MORE for all his honour, and fauour with his Prince, was nothing puffed vp with pride, disdaine or arrogancie, but was of such a milde behauour, and excellent temper, that he could neuer be moued to anie passion or anger, as mine vncle *Rooper* wittnesseth, who (a) affirmeth that in sixteene yeares space and more, that he dwelt in his house, and was conuersant with him alwaies, he could neuer perceauce him so much as once in a fume. Yea *Margaret Gigs*, (who was brought vp from a childe amongst Sir THOMAS his children and ysed by him no otherwise, then one of them, and afterwards married Doctour *Clement*) a

(a) Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 21. See also Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, who has transcribed this whole paragraph into his book, chap. 4. p. 23.

singular learned woman would say, (a) that  
 sometimes she would committ a fault for the  
 nonce, to heare Sir THOMAS MORE chide her,  
 he did it with such grauitie, such moderation,  
 such loue and compassion. His meekenesse and  
 humilitie was also perceaued in this, that if it  
 had (b) fortun'd anie schollar to come to him  
 (as there did manie daily) either from *Oxford*,  
*Cambridge* or elsewhere, some for desire of  
 his acquaintance (as he had intercourse of let-  
 ters with all the men of fame in Christendome)  
 some againe for the report of his learning and  
 singular wisedome, some for suites of the Vni-  
 uersities; if anie of them, I say, had entred  
 into argument, wherein few were able to dis-  
 pute long with him, he would vrge verie for-  
 cibly; and if it fortun'd, that they entred  
 togeather so farre to dispute, that he perceau-  
 ed they could not without some inconue-  
 nience holde out much further against his argu-  
 ments, then, least he should discourage them, as  
 he that sought not his owne glorie, he would  
 seeme to be confuted, that the student should  
 not be discomforted, euer shewing himselfe  
 more desirous to learne then to teache, and  
 so by some wittie deuise he would courte-  
 ously breake out into some other matter.

2. Such was also his readinesse of witt, (c) that  
 going euer in progresse with the king either  
 to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, when they were re-

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 9. p. 248.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 13.

(c) Ibid.

ceased with verie eloquent orations, he was alwaies the man appointed by his Maiestie *ex tempore* to make answer vnto them, as he that was promptest and most readie therein. Yea when the king went into *France* to meete the French king, Sir THOMAS MORE made a speech of their congratulation; which he also did, when *Charles* the Fifth landed in *England* to see Queene *Catherine* his aunte. And whensoever he had occasion either in *England* or beyond the sea, to visite anie vniuersitie, he would not only be present at their readings and disputations, but would also learnedly dispute there amongst them himself, to the great admiration of all the Auditorie, for his skill in all sciences. (a) But when at *Brugges* in *Flanders* an arrogant fellow had sett vp a *Thesis*, that he would answer whatsoever question could be propounded vnto him in anie art whatsoever, Sir THOMAS made this question to be putt vp, for him to answer thereto, whether *Aueria capta in Withernamia sunt irreplegebilia*; adding that there was one of the English Embassadors retinue, that would dispute with him thereof. This *Thraso* or Braggadocio not so much as vnderstanding those tearmes of our Common Law, knew not what to answer to it; and so he was made a laughing stocke to the whole Cittie for his presumptuous bragging.

(a) Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, ch. 5. p. 26. Dr. Stapleton says, this happen'd at Bruxelles, and the Story seems to be taken from him. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 13. p. 288.



3. Now, as he was vngrateful to vaine proude men, so was he an intire and speciall good friend to all the learned men in Christendome; and first he affected especially that famous man *Cuthbert Tunstall* lately Bishopp of London, and then of *Durham*; of whome Sir THOMAS speaketh in his epitaphe made by himself whilst he was in good health and state, (a) thus: *Then whome the whole world hath not a man more learned, wise or better.* He speaketh also of him in his *Vtopia* thus: *The King sent me Embassadour into Flanders as a Colleague to that excellent person Cuthbert Tunstall, whome lately he hath chosen (to the congratulation of all men) his Maister of the Rowles, of whose singular praises I will not speake, for that I feare I should be suspected, because he is so deare a friend vnto me; but for that his vertues and learning are greater then I can expresse, and also more knowen, then that I should neede to goe about to declare them; except I would seeme to sett a torche to lighten the sunne. In this embassage manie things delighted me much: first the long and neuer interrupted familiaritie, which I had with Tunstall, then whome as there is none more learned, so also no man more graue in his life and manners, no man more pleasant in his manner of*

(a) *Quo viro vix habet orbis hodie quicquam eruditius, prudentius, melius.* See Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 201.

*carriage and conuersation.* (a) He wrote vnto him diuerſe letters, which may teſtifie what intire friendſhipp there was betweene theſe two excellent men; as this: *Although euerie letter which I receaue from you (moſt worthie friend) is verie gratefull vnto me, yet that which you wrote laſt, was moſt welcome, for that beſides the other commendations, which the reſt of your letters deſerne in reſpect of their eloquence, and the friendſhipp they profeſſe towards me, theſe laſt of yours yeelde a peculiar grace, for that they containe your peculiar teſtimonie (I would it were as true as it is fauourable) of my Common Wealth. I requeſted my friend Erasmus, that he would explaine to you the matter thereof in familiar talke; yet I charged him not to preſſe you to reade it, not becauſe I would not haue you to reade it (for that is my chiefe deſire) but remembring your diſcrete purpoſe, not to take in hand the reading of anie new worke, vntill you had fully ſatiſfied yourſelfe with the bookes of ancient Authours, which if you meaſure by the profitt you haue taken by them, ſurely you haue alreadie accompliſhed your taſke; but if by affection, then you will neuer bring your ſayd purpoſe to a perfect ende. Wherefore I was aſrayed that ſeing the excellent workes of other men could not allure you to their reading, you would neuer be brought to condeſcende willingly to the read-*

(a) The following letters are extant in Latin in Dr. Stapleton's Life of Sir Tho. More, chap. 5. p. 201. ſeq.

ing of my trifles, and surely you would neuer haue donne it, but that your loue towards me droue you more thereto, then the worth of the thing itselfe. Therefore I yeelde you exceeding thanks for reading so diligently ouer my Vtopia; I meane, because you haue for my sake bestowed so much labour; And no lesse thanks truly do I giue you, for that my worke hath pleased you; for no lesse do I attribute this to your loue, because I see you rather haue testified, what your loue towards me did suggest, then the authoritie of a Censor. Howsoever the matter is, I cannot expresse how much I ioye, that you haue cast your whole account in liking my doings. For I almost perswade my self all those things to be true, which you speake thereof, knowing you to be most farre from all dissembling, and my self more meane, then that you should neede to flatter me, and more deare to you, then that I should expecte a mocke from you. Wherefore, whether that you haue sene the truth unfainedly, I reioyce hartily in your Iudgement, or whether your affection to me hath blinded your Iudgement, I am for all that no lesse delighted in your loue; and truly vehement and extraordinary great must that loue be, which could bereaue Tunstall of his iudgement. And in another letter he sayth: You deale very courteously with me, in that you giue me in your letter such hartie thanks, because I haue bene carefull to defende the causes of your  
friendes,



friendes, amplifying the small good turne I haue done you therein, by your great bountie; but you deale somewhat, too fearefully in regarde of the loue, which is betweene vs; if you imagine that you are indebted vnto me for anie thing I haue donne, and do not rather challenge it of right to be due vnto you, &c. The Amber, which you sent me, being a precious sepulcher of flyes, was for manie respects most wellcome vnto me; for the matter thereof may be compared in coulour and brightnesse to anie precious stone, and the forme is more excellent, because it representeth the figure of a hart, as it were the hieroglyphicke of our loue: which I interprete your meaning is, that betweene vs it will neuer fly away, and yet be alwaies without corruption; because I see the fly (which hath Wings like Cupide the sonne of Venus, and is as fickle as he) so shutt up here and inclosed in this glewie matter of Amber, as it cannot flye away, and so embalmed and preserued therewith, as it cannot perish. I am not so much as once troubled that I cannot sende you the like guift againe, for I knowe, you do not expect anie enterchange of tokens; and besides I am willing still to be in your debt, yet this troubleth me somewhat, that my estate and condition is so meane, that I am neuer able to shew myself worthie of all and singuler your friendship. Wherefore though I cannot giue testimonie myselfe herein before other men; yet must be satisfied  
with

with mine owne inward testimonie of minde, and your gentle acceptance. (a) He dedicated one of his bookes vnto him saying in this wise: *When I considered, to which of all my friends I should dedicate these my Collections out of manie Authors, I thought you most fitt for the same, in respect of the familiar conuersation, which of long time hath bene betweene vs, as also in respect of the sinceritie of your minde, because you would be alwayes readie to take thankfully, whatsoever in this worke should seeme gratefull vnto you: and whatsoever should be barren therein, you would make a courteous construction thereof; whatsoever might be vnpleasing, you would be willing to pardon.* (b) I would to God, I had as much witt and learning, as I am not altogether destitute of memorie. As for Bishopp Tunstall he was a learned man, and wrote a singuler booke of the real presence. And although, during king Henrie's raigne, he went with the sway of the time (for who almost did otherwise?) to the great grieve of Sir THOMAS MORE; yet liuing to

(a) Our Author has here made a mistake in transcribing from Dr. Stapleton. The following passage is taken from a dedication of Bishop Tunstall's to Sir Tho. More, set before his Book *de arte supputandi*, which was printed at Paris in 1529. See Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 2. p. 166.

(b) This Sentence does not belong to what goes before it, but is taken from an Epistle of Sir Tho. More's to Petrus Aegidius prefix'd to his Utopia. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 2. p. 167.

the time of *Q. Elizabeth*, whose Godfather he was, (a) when she berayed the fonte, in his olde age seing her take strange courses against the Church, he came from *Durham*, and stoutely admonished her not to change religion; which if she presumed to doe, he threatned her to leese Gods blessing and his. She nothing pleased with his threatnes, made him be cast into prison, as most of the Bishops were, where he made a glorious ende of a Confessour, and satisfyed for his former crime of Schisme contracted in the time of king *Henrie's* raigne.

SIR THOMAS MORE's friendship with the glorious Bishop of *Rocheſter* was neither short nor small, but had long continued, and ended not with their famous martyrdomes. (b) See how good Bishop *Fisher* writeth unto him: *Lett, I pray you, our Cambridge men haue some hope in you to be fauoured by the king's Maieſtie that our ſchollars may be ſtirred up to learning by the countenance of ſo worthie a prince. We haue few friends in the Court, which can or will commend our cauſes to his royall Maieſtie, and amongſt all we ac- counte you the chiefe, who haue alwayes fauoured vs greatly, euen when you were in a meaner place; and now alſo ſhew what you*

(a) This circumstance is not related by Dr. Stapleton, from whom the rest of the account is taken, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 203.

(b) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 200.



can doe, being raised to the honour of knight-  
 hood, and in such great fauour with our prince,  
 of which we greatly reioyce, and also doe con-  
 gratulate your happinesse. Giue furtherance  
 to this youth, who is both a good schollar in  
 Diuinitie, and also a sufficient preacher to  
 the people. For he hath hope in your fa-  
 uour, that you can procure him greate fur-  
 therance, and that my commendations will  
 helpe him to your fauour. (a) To this Sir  
 THOMAS MORE answereth thus: *This Priest,*  
*Reuerend Father, whome you write to be in*  
*possibilitie of a Bishopricke, if he might haue*  
*some worthie suiter to speake for him to the*  
*king, I imagine that I haue so preuayled,*  
*that his Maiestie will be no hindrance there-*  
*to, &c. If I haue anie fauour with the*  
*king, which truly is but little, but whatso-*  
*uer I haue, I will employ all I can to the*  
*seruice of your Fatherhood and your schollars,*  
*to whome I yeelde perpetuall thankses for their*  
*deare affections towards me, often testified*  
*by their louing letters, and my house shall be*  
*open to them as though it were their owne.*  
*Farewell worthie and most courteous prelate,*  
*and see you loue me as you haue donne.*

His loue and friendship with yong Poole,  
 (afterwards a famous Cardinal) may be scene  
 by their letters. (b) He maketh mention of

(a) Ibid.

(b) Stapleton Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 198.

him with great praise in a letter he wrote to his wel-beloued daughter *Margaret Rooper* in this wise: *I cannot expresse in writing, nor scarcely can conceyue it by thought, how gratefull to me your most eloquent letters, deare daughter Margarett, are. Whilst I was reading them, there happened to be with me Reinald Poole, that most noble youth, not so noble by birth, as he is singularly learned, and excellently endewed with all kinde of vertue; to him your letter seemed as a miracle; yea before he understoode how neare you were besett with the shortenesse of time, and the molestation of your weake infirmitie, hauing notwithstanding sent me so long a letter, I could scarce make him belieue, but that you had some helpe from your Maister, until I tolde him seriously that you had not only neuer a maister in your house, but also neuer another man, that needed not your helpe rather in writing anie thing, then you needed his. And in (a) another to Doctour Clement a most famous phisitian, and one that was brought vp in Sir THOMAS his owne house, he sayth thus: I thanke you, my deare Clement, for that I finde you so carefull of my health and my childrens, so that you prescribe in your absence, what meates are to be auoided by vs. And you, my friend Poole, I render double thanks, both because you haue vouchsafed to sende vs in writing the*

(a) Ibid.

counsell of so great a phisitian, and besides haue procured the same for vs from your mother, a most excellent and noble matrone, and worthie of so great a forme; so as you do not seeme to be more liberall of your counsell, then in bestowing vpon vs the thing it selfe, which you counsell vs vnto. Wherefore I loue and praise you, both for your bountie and fidelitie.

And of Sir THOMAS MORE's friendship (a) Cardinal Poole boasteth much after his martyrdom in his excellent booke *De unitate Ecclesie* saying: " yf you thinke that I haue  
 " giuen scope to my sorrowe, because they  
 " were my best beloued friends that were putt  
 " to death (meaning Sir THOMAS MORE and Bishop Fisher) " I do both acknowledge and  
 " professe it to be true most willingly, that they  
 " both were deare vnto me aboue all others.  
 " For how can I dissemble this, seing that I  
 " doe reioyce more of their loue towards me,  
 " then if I should boaste, that I had gotten  
 " the dearest familiaritie with all the princes  
 " of Christendome.

His friendshipp also with (b) Doctour Lea (afterwards the worthie Archbishopp of Torke)

(a) *Quod si putas eò me dolori tantum indulsisse, quia mihi amici fuerint, qui morte sunt affecti; ego verò agnosco & praedico libenter, eos mihi amicos omnium charissimos fuisse. Nam qui hoc possum dissimulare? De quo quidem ita mihi gratulor, ut si omnium Regum & Principum, qui hodie viuunt, familiaritas mihi contigisset. Regin. Poli pro Eccles. Unitatis defen. lib. 1. p. 21. fol. 2. cited also by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 198.*

(b) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 199.



was not small nor fayned, although he had written an excellent booke against *Erasmus* his Annotations vpon the new Testament, *Erasmus* being then Sir THOMAS his intire friend, and as it were the one halfe of his owne hart. For Sir THOMAS writeth thus vnto him: *Good Lea, that you request of me, not to suffer my loue to be diminished towards you, trust me, good Lea, it shall not, though of myselfe I incline rather to that parte that is oppugned. And as I could wish that this Cittie were freed from your siege, so will I alwaies loue you, and be glad that you do so much esteeme of my loue.* He speaketh also of *Lupset*, a singular learned man of that time (a), in an epistle to *Erasmus*: *Our friend Lupsett readeth with great applause in both tounes at Oxford, hauing a great auditorie; for he succeedeth my Iohn Clement in that charge* (b). What familiaritie there was betwixt him and Doctour Collet, *Grocine*, *Linacre*, and *Lillie*, all, singuler men, we haue spoken of heretofore. *William Montioy*, a man of great learning, and *William Lattimer*, not *Hugh* the heretike, that was burnt, but another most famous for vertue and good letters, were his verie great acquaintance, as also *Iohn Croke*, that read *Greeke* first at *Lipsia* in *Germanie*, and was after King *Henrie's* *Greeke* maister (c), to whome he writeth thus: *What-*

(a) Ibid. p. 197.

(b) Ibid. p. 196.

(c) Ibid. p. 197.

sooner he was, my Crocus, that hath signified vnto you that my loue is lessened, because you haue omitted to write vnto me this great while, either he is deceaued, or else he seeketh cunningly to deceaue you; and although I take great comfort in reading your letters, yet am I not so proude, that I should chalenge so much interest in you, as though you ought of dutie to salute me euerie day in that manner, nor so wayward nor full of complaints to be offended with you, for neglecting a little this your custome of writing. For I were vniust, if I should exact from other men letters, whereas I knowe my selfe to be a greate sluggard in that kinde. Wherefore be secure as concerning this: for neuer hath my loue waxed so colde towards you, that it neede still to be kindled and heated with the continuall blowing of missiue epistles; yet shall you do me a great pleasure if you write vnto me as often as you haue leasure, but I will neuer perswade you to spende that time in saluting your friends, which you haue allotted for your owne studie, or the profiting of your schollars. As touching the other parte of your excuse, I utterly refuse it; for there is no cause why you should feare my nose as the trunke of an elephant, seing that your letters may without feare approache in the sight of anie man; neither am I so long snowted that I would haue anie man feare my censuring. As for the place which you requirre that I should procure you,

*both Mr. Pace and I, who loue you dearly, haue putt the king in minde thereof.*

4. But now as concerning the familiaritie he had with the most famous men of other nations, it may be likewise scene by his letters to them (a); as to that famous *Iohn Cochlee*, who was *Luther's* scourge, he writeth thus: *It cannot be expressed, most worthie Sir, how much I holde myself indebted vnto you, for certifying me so often of those occurrences, which happen in your Countrie. For Germanie now daily bringeth forth more monsters, yea prodigious things, then Africk was wont to doe. For what can be more monstrous then the Anabaptists; yet how haue those kinde of plagues, risen forth and spread for manie yeares togeather? I for my parte seing these sects daily to growe worse and worse, do expect shortly to heare, that there will arise some, who will not sticke to preache, that Christ himselfe is to be denyed; neither can there arise so absurde a knaue, but he shall haue fauourers; the madnesse of the people is so greate.* In which letter he foretelleth of *Dauid George the Hollander*, who called himself *Christ*, and had diuerse followers at *Basile*. So was there in *England* the like desperate fellowe called (b) *Hackett*, whose disciples were *Arden* and

(a) This also is taken from Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 209.

(b) Of this man's madnes and impiety, see Camden's Hist. of Qu. Eliz. lib. 4. p. 451. and Mr. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 627. His disciples were nam'd Arthington and Coppinger.



*Coppinger.* At another time he writeth thus vnto the same man: *I would haue you perswade yourself, deare Cochlie that I haue not receaued anie letter from anie of my friends these manie yeares, more gratefull then your last were to me; and that for two causes especially; the first, for that Iperceau in them your singular loue vnto me, which though I haue sufficiently found heretofore, yet do these shew it most plentifully, and I account it as a great happinesse; for to lett passe your benefitts donne me, who would not highly esteeme the friendship and fauour of such a friend? Secondly because in these letters you certifye me of the news of manie actions of Princes, &c.*

Afterwards he had also intire familiaritie with *Budæus*, which was often renewed by letters, and once by personall meeting in *France*, when the kings of *England* and *France* had a parlie togeather. For *Budæus* was in great fauour with his king *Francis*, yea one of his priuie Councell, as Sir THOMAS was to king *Henrie*; all which may be perceaued by his (a) letter to *Budæus* in this manner: *I knowe not, my good Budie, whether it were good for vs to possesse anie thing that were deare vnto vs, except we might still keepe it. For I haue imagined that I should be a happie man, if I might but once see Budæus, whose beautiefull picture the reading*

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 204.

of his workes had represented unto me. And when God had granted me my wishe, it seemed to me that I was more happie then happinesse it selfe; yet after that our businesse were so urgent, that I could not full-fill my earnest desire to enjoy your sweete conuersation often, and that our familiaritie scarce begunne was broken of within a while, the necessarie affaires of our Princes calling vs from it, so as it is now hard to say, whether we shall euer againe see one another, each of vs being enforced to wayte vpon our owne Prince; by how much the more ioyfull our meeting was, by so much the more was my sorrow in the parting; which you may lessen somewhat, if that you would please to make me often present by your letters: yet dare I not craue them of you: but my desire to haue them is greate.

Another friend he had called (a) Martin Dorpe, a famous reader in Louaine, and a singular good man, whome by letters fraught with sound arguments he brought to the loue of the Greeke tounge, being altogeather before auerted therefore: thus he speaketh of him in a letter to Erasmus: I cannot lett Martin Dorpius passe vnsaluted, whome I respect highly for his excellent learning, and for manie other respects; but for this not a lit-

(a) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 205.

tle (a), because he gaue you occasion to write your Apologie to Brixius his Moria.

He (b) mentioneth also Iohn Lascarus as a deare friend of his, as also Philipp Beroalde in a letter of his to Budeus in this manner: *Commende me hartily to Lascarus that excellent and most learned man; for I imagine that you would of yourselfe remember me to Beroaldus, though I should not putt you in minde thereof; for you knowe him to be so deare vnto me as such a one ought to be, then whome I haue scarcely found a more learned man, or a more pleasant friend.*

Hierome Buslidian, who built the Colledge called Trilingue in Louaine, we haue mentioned before, when we spake of his learned Vtopia (c), of whome thus he speaketh in a certaine letter of his to Erasmus: *Amongst other things which delighted me much in my Embassage, this is none of the least, that I gott acquaintance with Buslidian, who entertained me most courteously according to his great wealth and exceeding good nature, where he shewed me his house built most artificially,*

(a) In the original, *quod taxata Moria scribenda tibi Apologia praebeat occasionem*, without any mention of Brixius's name. Nor was Brixius at all concern'd in the matter. Erasmus alludes to a long Epistle, which Sir Tho. More wrote to Dorpius, *de necessariâ lingua Graeca cognitione*, that was publish'd at Basil by Episcopus in 1563. under the title of *Apologia pro Moriâ Erasmi*.

(b) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 208.

(c) Ibid.

and



and enriched with costlie housholde stuffe, replenished with a number of monuments of antiquitie, wherein you know I take great delight, finally such an exquisite librarie, yea his hart and breast, more stored then anie librarie ; so that it astonished me greatly.

And presently after in the same letter he speaketh of Peter Giles as followeth : But in all my trauailes, nothing happened more to my wish then the acquaintance and conuersation of Peter Giles of Anwerp, a man so learned, so merrie, so modest and so friendlie that, lett me be baked if I would not purchase this one mans familiaritie with the losse of a good parte of my estate. And in his *Vtopia* he speaketh thus of him : Whilst I liue here in Anwerp, I am uisited often, amongst the rest, by Peter Giles, then whome none is more gratefull vnto me : he is natieue of Anwerp, and a man of good reputation amongst his councitmen, and worthie of the best. For he is such a yong man that I knowe not whether he is more learned, or better qualifed with good conditions, for he is a most vertuous man, and a great schollar, besides of courteous behauiour towards all men, of such a sincere carriage, loue and affection towards his friend, that you can scarce finde such another youth to sett by him, that may be compared vnto him ; he is of rare modestie, all flatterie is farre from him ; plainenesse with wisdom are seated in him together ; moreouer so pleasant

*sant in talke and so merrie without anie offence, that he greatly lesseneth by his pleasant discourse the desire I haue to see my Countrie, my house, my wife, my children, of whose companie I am of myself too anxious, and whome to enioy I am too desirous. Of Beatus Renanus a verie learned man, (a) he writeth in an epistle to Erasmus, thus: I loue Renanus maruelously and am much in his debt for his good Preface; whome I would haue thanked a good while agoe, but that I haue bene troubled with such a gowte of the hand, that is to say, idlenesse, that by no meanes I could ouercome it.*

*Cranuilde also an excellent learned man and one of the Emperour Charles his priuie Councell was brought to Sir THOMAS MORE's friendshipp by Erasmus; for which both of them thanked Erasmus exceedingly as appeareth first by (b) Cranuilde's letter to him, which is thus: I cannot but thanke you greatly with these my (though rude) letters (most learned in all sciences) for your singular benefitt lately bestowed vpon me which I shall always beare in remembrance, and which I esteeme so much as that I would not leese it for Cræsus's wealth. You will aske me, what benefitt that was; truly this, that you haue brought me to the acquaintance and sweete conuersation of your friend MORE but now I will call him mine,*

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 209.

(b) In farrag. Epistol. lib. 15. p. 474. and quoted by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 210.

*whome*

whome after your departure I often frequented, because he often sent for me unto him; whose bountiefull entertainement at his table I esteeme not so much as his learning, his courtesie, and his liberalitie. Wherefore I accounte myself deeply indebted unto you, and desire God that I may be able to demonstrate unto you a gratefull signification of this good turne donne me. In his absence he sent my wife a ring of golde, the posie whereof in English was: All things are measured by good will. He gaue me also certaine olde peeces of siluer and golde coyne; in one whereof was grauen Tiberius's picture, in another Augustus; which I am willing to tell you, because I am somewhat to thanke you for all. Whome Erasmus answered thus: This is that sure, which is vulgarly spoken: I haue by the meanes of one daughter gotten two sonnes in law: you thanke me because by my meanes you haue gotten so speciall a friend, as MORE is; and he on the other side thanketh me also, for that I haue procured his knowledge of Cranuilde. I knew well enough that because your witts and manners were alike, there would easily arise a deare friendship betwixt you; if so were that you did but knowe each other; but as the hauing of such friends is precious, so is the true keeping of them as rare. Heare how Sir THOMAS (a) writeth to Cranuilde: I both perceiue

(a) Stapleton. in Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 212.

and



and acknowledge how much I am in your debt, my deare Cranuilde, because you neuer cease to doe that which is most gratefull vnto me, in that you certifye me still of your affayres and friends. For what can be either more acceptable to THOMAS MORE in his aduersitie, or more pleasing vnto him in his prosperitie, then to receaue letters from Cranuilde, except one could bring me to the speach of him, a most learned man of all others. But as often as I reade your writings, I am enamoured therewith, as yf I were conuersing with you in presence. Wherefore nothing troubleth me more, then that your letters are no longer; yet haue I found a meanes to remedie that, because I reade them ouer againe and againe, and I do it leasurely that my suddaine reading them may not bereaue me of my pleasure. But so much for this. That which you write concerning our friend Viues, who hath made a discourse of wicked women, I agree so well with your opinion, that I thinke one cannot liue without inconueniencies with the verie best woman. For if anie man be married, he shall not be without care; and in my conceipt Metellus Numidicus spoke truly of wiues; which I would speake the rather, if manie of them through our owne faultes were not made the worse. But Viues hath gotten so good a wife, that he may not shunne only, as much as possible any man, all the troubles of marriage, but also thereby

thereby he may receaue great contentment; yet now mens mindes are so busied with publike garboiles, whilst the furie of warres doth so rage euerie where, that no man is at leasure to thinke of his priuate cares: wherefore if anie housholde troubles haue heretofore oppressed anie, they are now all obscured by reason of common mischiefes. But this suffiseth for this matter, for that I returne to your self, whose courtesies and friendshipp towards me as often as I thinke of (which is verie often) it shaketh from me all sorrow. I thanke you for the booke you sent me, and I wish much ioy with your new childe, not for your owne sake only, but for the Common wealthes, wose great benefitt it is, that such a parent should encrease it with plentie of children. For from you none but excellent children can be borne. Farewell, and commende me carefully and hartily to your wife, to whome I pray God sende happie health and strength: My wife and children also wish you health, to whome by my reporte you are as well knowen and as deare as to myself. Againe farewell. London 10. Aug. 1524. Another letter he wrote vnto him in this sorte: I am ashamed, so God help me, my deare Cranuilde, of this your great courtesie towards me, that you do salute me with your letters so often, so louingly, and so carefully, whenas I so sel-dome do salute you againe, especially seing you may pretende yea allcage as manie troubles

bles of businesses as I can: but such is the sinceritie of your affection and such the constancie thereof, as although you are readie to excuse all things in your friends, yet you yourselfe are alwaies readie to perfourme euery thing, and to goe forward without omitting that which might be pardoned in you. But perswade yourself, good Cranuild, that if there happen anie thing at anie time, wherein I may really shew vnto you my loue, there, God willing, I will neuer be wanting. Commende me to my Mistrisse your wife, for I dare not now inuerte the order begunne, and to your whole familie, whome mine doth with all their harts salute. From my house in the Countrie this 10.<sup>th</sup> of Iune 1528. Conradus Goclenius a Westphalian was commended by Erasmus vnto Sir THOMAS MORE thus (a): I praise your disposition, my dearest MORE, exceedingly, for that your content is to be rich in faithfull and sincere friends, and that you esteeme the greatest felicitie of this life to be placed therein. Some take great care that they may not be cosened with counterfaite iewells; but you contemning all such trifles, seeme to yourself to be rich enough, if you can but gett an vnfayned friend. For there is no man taketh delight either in Cardes, dice, Chess, hunting or musike so much as you doe in discoursing with a learned and pleasant conceyted Companion. And although you are

(a) In farrag. Epist. lib. 17. p. 536. cited by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 211.



stored with this kinde of riches; yet because that I knowe, that a couetous man hath neuer enough, and that this manner of my dealing hath luckily happened both to you and me diuerse times heretofore, I deliuer to your custodie one friend more whome I would haue you accept with your whole hart. His name is Conradus Goclenius a Westphalian, who hath with great applause and no lesse fruit lately taught Rhetorick in the College newly erected at Louaine called Trilingue. Now I hope that as soone as you shall haue true experience of him, I shall haue thanks of you both; for so I had of Cranuilde, who so wholly possesseth your loue, that I almost enuie him for it.

(a) But of all strangers *Erasmus* challenged vnto himself his loue most especially, which had long continued by mutuall letters expressing great affection; and increased so much that he tooke a iournie of purpose into *England* to see and enjoy his personall acquaintance and more intire familiaritie; at which time it is reported how that he, who conducted him in his passage, procured that Sir THOMAS MORE and he should first meete together in *London* at the Lo: Mayor's table, neither of them knowing each other. And in the dinner time, they chanced to fall into argument, *Erasmus* still endeauouring to defende the worser parte; but he was so sharply sett vpon, and

(a) Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 5. p. 28.

opposed by Sir THOMAS MORE, that perceauing that he was now to argue with a readier witt, then euer he had before mett withall, he broke forth into these wordes not without some choler: *Aut tu es Morus aut nullus*; whereto Sir THOMAS readily replied: *Aut tu es Erasmus, aut diabolus*: because at that time he was strangely disguised, and had sought to defende impious propositions; for although he was a singular Humanist, and one that could vtter his minde in a most eloquent phrase, yet had he alwaies a delight to scoffe at religious matters, and find fault with all sortes of Clergie men. He took a felicitie to sett out sundrie Commentaries vpon the Fathers workes, censuring them at his pleasure, for which cause he is tearmed *Errans-mus*; because he wandreth here and there in other mens haruests; yea in his writings he is sayd to haue hatched manie of those eggs of heresie, which the apostata Fryer *Luther* had before layde; not that he is to be accotnted an heretike, for he would neuer be obstinate in anie of his opinions, yet would he irreligiously glaunce at all antiquitie and finde manie faultes with the present state of the Church. Whilst he was in *England* Sir THOMAS MORE vsed him most courteously, doing manie offices of a deare friend for him, as well by his word as his purse; whereby he bound *Erasmus* so straytely vnto him, that he euer after spoke and wrote vpon all occasions most highly in

his praise (a) ; but Sir THOMAS in successe of time grew lesse affectionate vnto him, by reason he saw him still fraught with much vanitie and vnconstancie in respect of religion ; as when *Tindall* obiecteth vnto Sir THOMAS, that his Darling *Erasmus* had translated the word *Church* into *Congregation*, and *Priest* into *Elder*, euen as himself had donne, Sir THOMAS answered thereto, *yf my darling Erasmus hath translated those places with the like wicked intent, that Tindall hath donne, he shall be no more my darling, but the Diuels darling.* Finally long after hauing found in *Erasmus's* workes manie thinges necessarily to be amended, he counselled him as his friend in some latter booke to imitate the example of *S. Augustin* who did sett out a booke of *Retractions*, to correct in his writing, what he had vnaduisedly written in the heate of youth ; but he that was farre different from *S. Augustin* in humilitie, would neuer follow his counsell ; and therefore he is censured by the Church for a busie fellow : manie of his bookes are condemned, and his opinions accounted erroneous, though he alwaies liued a Catholike Priest ; and hath written most sharpely against all those new Gospellers, who then beganne to appeare in the world ; and in a letter to *Iohn Fabius* Bishoppe of *Vienna* he sayth that he hateth these seditious opinions, with the which at this day

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 192.



the world is miserably shaken; neither doth he dissemble, saith he, being so addicted to pietie, that if he incline to anie parte of the balance, he will bende rather to superstition then to impietie; by which speach he seemeth in doubtfull words to taxe the Church with superstition, and the new Apostolicall bretheren with impietie.

Now to conclude this matter of Sir THOMAS MORE's friends, lett vs heare what *Erasmus* speaketh of him in an (a) epistle to *Vlderick Hutten*: MORE seemeth to be made and borne for friendshipp, whereof he is a most sincere follower, and a fast keeper; neither doth he feare to be taxed for that he hath manie friends; which thing *Hesiodus* prayseth nothing: euerie man may attain to his friendshipp; he is nothing slowe in choosing, most apt in nourishing, and most constant in keeping them; yf by chance he falles into ones amitie, whose vices he cannot amende, he slackneth the raines of friendshipp, disioynting it by little and little rather then dissoluing it suddenly: whome he findeth sincere and constant agreing with his owne good disposition, he is so delighted with their companie and familiaritie, that he seemeth to place his chiefe worldlie pleasure in such mens conuersation; and although he be verie negligent in his owne temporall affaires, yet none is more diligent then he in furthering his friends causes.

(a) Apud Stapleton. in Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 216.

*What neede I speake manie words? yf anie were desirous to haue a perfect patterne of friendshipp, none can make it better then MORE. In his companie there is such rare affabilitie, and such sweete behauiour, that no man is of so harsh a nature, but that his talke is able to make him merrie, no matter so unpleasing, but he with his witt can shake from it all tediousnesse; declaring plainly in these words the most pleasant disposition of Sir THOMAS MORE; whose only merry ieaistes and wittie sayings were able to fill a whole volume, if they were all gathered togeather; some of which Doctour Stapleton hath sett downe in (a) two seuerall Chapters, whereof I shall also mention some hereafter; but the greatest number haue neuer bene sett downe in writing, as daily falling from him in his familiar discourse. All which shew plainly that he had a quiett conscience full of alacritie and a wittie concept, able to please all men that resorted vnto him, and who would not be glad of his companie, who was by nature most affable, in his Princes fauour verie high, and stored with worldlie blessings, as ample possessions, wealth enough and pompe of the world, euen at will.*

*(b) He vsed when he was in the Cittie of London a Iustice of peace, to goe to the*

(a) Cap. 12, & 13.

(b) Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 13. p. 246. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, p. 135.

(a) Sessions at Newgate, as other Iustices did; amongst whome it happened that one of the ancient Iustices of peace was wont to chide the poore men, that had their purses cutt, for not keeping them more warily, saying that their negligence was cause, that there were so manie Cutt purses brought thither. Which when Sir THOMAS had heard him often speake at one time especially, the night after he sent for one of the chiefe Cutt purses that was in the prison, and promised him that he would stand his good friend, if he would cutt that Iustice's purse, whilst he sate the next day on the Benche, and presently make a signe thereof vnto him; the fellow gladly promiset him to doe it. The next day therefore when they sate againe, that thiefe was called amongst the first; who being accused of his fact, sayd that he would excuse himselfe sufficiently, if he were but permitted in priuate to speake to some one of the Benche; he was bidde therefore to choose one whome he would; and he presently chose that graue olde man, who then had his pouche at his gyrdle; and whilst he roundeth him in the eare, he cunningly cutts his purse; and taking his leaue sollemnely, goeth downe to his place; Sir THOMAS knowing by a signe that it was dispatched, taketh presently an occasion to moue all the Bench to distribute some almes upon a poore needie fellowe, that was there, beginning himselfe to

(a) Read Sessions.



do it. When the olde man came to open his purse, he sees it cutt away, and wondering, sayd, that he had it, when he came to sit there that morning. Sir THOMAS replied in a pleasant manner; what? will you charge anie of us with felonie? He beginning to be angrie and ashamed of the matter, Sir THOMAS calles the cutt purse and willes him to giue him his purse againe, counselling the good man hereafter not to be so bitter a censurer of innocent mens negligence, when as himself could not keepe his purse safe in that open assemblie. For these his wittie ieastes he may well be sayd to haue bene neither hatefull to the Nobilitie, nor displeasing to the people. Yf we reade his letters, they shew great eloquence a pure latine phrase and a religious minde, for alwaies they expresse either humilitie in himselfe, zeale of God's honour, loue to his neighbour, compassion of the afflicted, or a dear affection to his wife and children; so that it may be sayd that he had *pectus verè candidum* a verie sincere hart; and surely they breathe out matter either of wonderfull deuotion, or admirable wisedome.

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## C H A P. IV.

The Pious Home-employmente of Sir THOMAS MORES; and his godly counceles giuen to his wyfe and children.

1. *Sir Th. Mores home-entertainements and deuotions.*
2. *His beehauour towards his wyfe and children and counceles giuen them.*
3. *Sir Th. More studiously wrote agaynst heresy'es in midst of his affayres.*
4. *A view of many witty and pithy speech-es of S. T. Mores.*
5. *Sir Th. Mores profound skill in diuinytye.*

1. **A**lthough he liued a Courtier and a lay married man yet when he came home, (a) he would both in the morning and in the euening, before he went to bedde, say in his Chappell certain praiers deuoutely upon his knees, with his wife, children and familie, and because he was desirous sometimes to be solitarie, and would sequester himself from the world, to recollect himselfe and shake of the dust of earthlie businesse, which otherwise would easily defile his soule, he built for him-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 15. Stapleton Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 9. p. 248. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 6, p. 29.

selfe a Chappell, a librarie and a gallerie, called the New buildings, a good distance from his mayne house, wherein as his custome was, vpon other daies to busie himself in prayer and meditation, whensoever he was at leasure, so vsually he would continue there on the Frydaies, in memorie of Christ's bitter passion, from morning vntill night, spending the whole day in deuotion; so that he became an excellent man in the Contemplatiue life; of all which lett vs heare what (a) *Erasmus* writeth: *MORE hath built neare London vpon the Thames side* (to witt, at *Chelsey* that which my lo: of *Lincolne* bought of *Sir Robert Cecile*) *a commodious house, neither meane nor subiect to enuie, yet magnificent enough; there he conuerseth affably with his familie, his wife, his sonne and daughter in lawe, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleauen grandchildren; there is not anie man liuing, so louing to his children as he, and he loueth his olde wife as well as if she were a yong mayde; and such is the excellencie of his temper, that whatsoeuer happeneth that could not be helped, he loueth it as though nothing could happen more happily. You would say there were in that place Plato's Academie; but I do the house iniury in comparing it to Plato's academie, wherein there was only disputations of numbers and Geometricall figures, and sometimes of morall vertues. I should ra-*

(a) In farrag. Epistolar. lib. 27. cited by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 9. p. 247.



ther call his howse a schoole or uniuersitie of Christian religion ; for there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberall Sciences ; their speciall care is pietie and vertue ; there is no quarrelling or intemperate wordes heard, none seene idle ; which housholde discipline that worthie Gentleman doth not gouerne by proude and loftie wordes, but with all kind and courteous beneuolence ; euerie bodie performing his dutie, yet is there alwaies alacritie, neither is sober mirth anie thing wanting. And againe he writeth thus ; His first wife, which was but yong, he caused to be instructed in learning, and to be taught all kinde of musike ; she dying after she had brought forth foure children, he married, as is aforesayd, a widowe, not for lust, but to be a gouernesse, to his yong familie, who although she were inclining to olde age, and of a nature somewhat harsh and besides very worldlie, yet he perswaded her to play vpon the lute, violl, and some other instruments, euerie day performing thereon her taske ; and so with the like gentlenesse he ordered his whole familie (a). He suffered none of his seruants either to be idle or to giue themselues to anie games ; but some of them he allotted to looke to the gardin, assigning to euerie one his sundrie plott ; some againe he sett to sing, some to play on the organs ; he suffered none to

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 9. p. 248. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 6. p. 30.

giue themselves to cardes or dice. The men abode on the one side of the house, the women on the other, seldome conuersing together; he vsed before bedtime to call them together, and say certaine prayers with them, as the *Miserere* psalme; *Ad te, Domine, leuauit*; *Deus misereatur nostri*; *Salue Regina*; and *De profundis* for the dead, and some others; he suffered none to be absent from Masse on the Sondaies; or vpon holie daies; and vpon great feasts he gott them to wathe the ceues all the Mattins time. Vpon Good Fryday he would call them together into the New-buildings; and reading the holie Passion vnto them, he would now and then interpose some speaches of his owne to moue them either to compassion, compunction, or such pious affections. *Erasmus* (a) sayth, “ that there  
 “ was a fatall felicitie fallen on the seruants  
 “ of that house, that none liued but in better estate after Sir THOMAS MORE’s death;  
 “ none euer was touched with the least aspersion of anie euill fame.”

He vsed to haue one reade daily at his table, which being ended, he would aske of some of them, how they vnderstood such and such a place, and so there grew a friendlie communication, recreating all men that were present, with some ieauste or other. My aunte *Rooper* writing hereof to her father in the Tower (b)

(a) In Epist. ad Uldrichum Huttenum, quoted by Dr. Stapleton, in Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 9. p. 249.

(b) Stapleton Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 9. p. 250.

sayth : " What doe you thinke, my most deare  
 " father, doth comfort vs at *Chelsey* in this  
 " your absence? surely the remembrance of  
 " your manner of life passed amongst vs, your  
 " holie conuersation, your holefome coun-  
 " sels, your examples of vertue, of which  
 " there is hope that they do not only perse-  
 " uere with you, but that they are by Gods  
 " grace much more encreased."

2. His children vsed often to translate out  
 of English into Latine, and out of Latine in-  
 to English : and Doctour *Stapleton* (a) testi-  
 fyeth that he hath sene an Apologie of Sir  
 THOMAS MORE's to the vniuersitie of *Oxford*  
 in defence of learning, turned into Latine  
 by one of his daughters, and translated a-  
 gaine into English by another. And to stirre  
 vp his wife and children to the desire of hea-  
 uenlie things (b), he would sometimes vse  
 these and the like wordes vnto them : " It is  
 " now noe maisterie for you, my ioyes, to  
 " gett to heauen ; for euerie bodie giueth you  
 " good example, euerie one storeth your heads  
 " with good counsells ; you see also vertue re-  
 " warded, and vice punished ; so that you are  
 " carried vp thither by the chinnes ; but yf you  
 " chance to liue that time, wherein none will  
 " giue you good example, nor none anie good  
 " counsell ; when you shall see before your  
 " eyes vertue punished and vice rewarded, if

(a) Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 10. p. 251.

(b) Mr Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 15, 16. Hoddes-  
 don's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, cap. 6. p. 31.

" then



“ then you will stand fast, and sticke to God  
“ closely, vpon paine of my life, though you  
“ be but halfe good, God will allowe you  
“ for whole good.” Yf his wife or anie of  
his children chanced to be sicke or troubled,  
he would say vnto them: “ we must not  
“ looke to goe to heauen at our pleasure and  
“ on fotherbeds; that is not the way, for our  
“ Lord himself went thither with great paine;  
“ and the seruant must not looke to be in bet-  
“ ter case then his maister.” As he would in  
this sorte animate them to beare their troubles  
patiently, so would he in like manner teache  
them to withstande the diuell and his tempta-  
tions valiantly, comparing our ghostlie enemy  
to an ape, which if he be not looked vnto,  
he will be busie and bolde to do shrewede  
turnes; but if he be espyed and checked for  
them, he will suddenly leape backe and ad-  
uenture no further; so the diuell finding a  
man idle, sluggish, and vsing no resistance to  
his suggestions, waxeth hardie, and will not  
sayle still to continue them, vntill he hath  
thoroughly brought vs to his purpose; but if he  
find a man with diligence still seeking to with-  
stand and preuent his temptations he waxeth  
wearie, and at last he vtterly forsaketh him, be-  
ing a spiritt of so high a pride, that he cannot  
endure to be mocked; and againe so enui-  
ous that he feareth still least he not only  
thereby should catche a fowle fall, but also  
minister vnto vs more matter of meritt.

(a)

(a) When he saw anie of his take great paines in dressing themselues to be fine either in wearing that which was vneasie, or in stroaking vp their hayre to make themselues high foreheads, he would tell them that if God gaue them not hell, he should doe them great iniurie; for they tooke more paynes to please the world and the diuell, then manie euen vertuous men did to cleanse their soules and please God.

Manie such speeches tending to deuotion and care of their soules had he euerie day at dinner and supper, after the reading was done, as is before sayd, with such heauenlie discourses flowing with eloquence, that it might well be sayd of him, which the Queene of *Saba* (b) sayd of *Salomon*: "Blessed art thou; and blessed by thy Lord God; and blessed are all they that attende and wayte on thee:" For no doubt there was the spirite of God in that familie, where euerie one was busied about somewhat or other; no cardes, no dice, no companie keeping of the men with the women; but as it were in some religious house, all chaste, all courteous, all deuout; their recreations was either musike of voices or viols; for which cause he procured his wife, as I haue sayd, to play thereon, to draw her minde from the worlde, to which by nature she was too much addicted; but so, as Sir THOMAS would say of her, that she was often penny-

(a) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 12. p. 276. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, cap. 6. p. 30.

(b) 1 Kings, x. 8, 9.

wife, and pound-foolish; sauing a candle's ende, and spoyling a veluett gowne. Of her also he meant it, when in his bookes of Comfort in Tribulation he telleth of one, who would rate her husband, because he had no minde to sett himself forward in the world (a), saying vnto him: "Tillie vallie, tillie vallie: will you sitt and make goslings in the ashes; my mother hath often sayd, vnto me: it is better to rule than to be ruled." Now in truth, answered Sir THOMAS, that is truly sayd, good wife; for I neuer found you yet willing to be ruled. And in another place of the same booke he calleth this wife of his, a iollie Maister-woman.

3. For all his publike affayres and housholde exercises, he neuer left of to write learned bookes either of deuotion or against heresies, which now beganne to spreade themselues from *Germanie* into *Flanders*, and from thence into *England* by manie pestiferous pamphletts and bookes, against which Sir THOMAS MORE laboured with his penne more then (b) anie other English man whatsoeuer, in regarde of his zeale to God, and the honour of his immaculate spouse the Catholike Church, as appeareth by his (c) foure bookes of Dialogues,

(a) See Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Th. More, cap. 11. p. 73.

(b) Stapleton says, than the whole Clergy of England put together. *Quâ in re plus solus laborauit, quàm universus tunc Anglia clerus.* Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 221.

(c) Concerning this and the following books, see Stapleton in his Life of Sir Tho. More, cap. 4. p. 189.



a worke full of learning and witt, where he argueth most profoundly of the Inuocation of Saints, pilgrimages, relikes, and Images; he teacheth also substantially, how we may knowe, which is the true Church, and that that Church cannot erre.

After he had ended this booke, there was a lewde fellow sett out a pamphlett intituled the *Supplication* of Beggers; by which vnder pretence of helping the poore, he goeth about to cast out the Clergie and to ouerthrowe all Abbies and religious houses, bearing men in hand, that after that the Gospell should be preached, beggars and bawdes should decrease, thieues and idle people be the fewer, &c. Against whome Sir THOMAS wrote a singular booke, which he named *A Supplication of the soules in Purgatorie*, making them there, complaine of the most vncharitable dealing of certaine vpstarts, who would perswade all men to take from them the spirituall almes, that haue bene in all ages bestowed vpon these poore soules, who feelee greater miserie than anie beggar in this world; and he proueth most truly that an ocean of manie mischieuous euents would indeede ouerwhelme the realme: *Then, sayth he, shall Luther's gospell come in; then shall Tindall's Testament be taken vp; then shall false heresies be preached, then shall the Sacraments be sett at naught, then shall fasting and praier be neglected, then shall holie Saints be blasphemed, then shall Almighty god be displeased, then shall he withdrawe his*  
H grace

grace and lett all runne to ruine, then shall all vertue be had in derision, then shall all vice raigne and runne forth vnbrideled, then shall youth leaue labour and all occupation, then shall folkes waxe idle and fall to vnthriftinesse, then shall whores and thieues, beggars and barwdes increase, then shall vnthriftes flocke togeather, and each beare him bolde of other, then shall all lawes be laughed to scorne, then shall seruants sett naught by their masters, and unrulie people rebelle against their gouernours, then will rise vp rifeling and roberie, mischiefe and plaine insurrection; whereof what the ende will be, or when you shall see it, onely God knoweth. And that Luther's new Gospell hath taken such effect in manie partes of Christendome, the woefull experience doth feelingly to the great grieve of all good folkes testifie to the world; Of all which, and that the land would be peopled to the deuouring of one another, he writeth particularly more like one that had seene what had ensued alreadie, then like one that spoke of things to come.

He wrote also a laboursome booke against *Tindall*, refuting particularly euerie periede of his bookes; a short treatise also against young Father *Fryth* in defence of the reall presence, which that heretike did gaine say and for that was after burnt. Against Fryer *Barnes* his church he wrote also an Apologie, and a defence thereof, under the name of *Salem* and *Byzanze*; which are all sett forth togeather with

with that most excellent peece of worke comprised in three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation; which subiect he handleth so wittily as none hath come neare him either in weight of graue sentences, deuout considerations of fit similitudes; seasoning alwaies the troublesome of the matter with some merrie ieaſtes or pleaſant tales, as it were ſugar, whereby we drinke vp the more willingly theſe wholeſome druggs, of themſelves vnſauorie to fleſh and bloud; which kinde of writing he hath vſed in all his workes, ſo that none can euer be wearie to reade them, though they be neuer ſo long.

4. Wherefore I haue thought it not amiſſe to ſett downe in this place amongſt a thouſand others, ſome of his Apophthegmes, which Doctour *Stapleton* hath (a) collected in two whole Chapters:

Doe not thinke, ſaith Sir THOMAS MORE, that to be alwaies pleaſant, which madde men doe laughing. For one may often ſee a man in Bedlem laugh, when he knockes his head againſt the wall; vttering this to condemne them that eſteeme all things good or badde, which the common people iudge to be.

Againe: A ſinner, ſaith he, cannot taſte ſpiritual delights; becauſe all carnall are firſt to be abandoned.

By an excellent ſimilitude he teacheth vs, why few doe feare death thus: Euen as they

(a) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 12. & 13.



which looke vpon things as farre of, seeing them confusedly, not knowing whether they be men or trees; euen so he that promiseth vnto himselfe long life, looketh vpon death as a thing farre of, not iudging what it is, how terrible, what griefes and dangers it bringeth with it. And that none ought to promise himselfe long life, he proueth thus: Even as two men that are brought out of prison to the gallowes, one by a long way about, the other by a direct shore path, yet neither knowing, which is which, vntill they come to the gallowes, neither of these two can promise himself longer life, the one then the other, by reason of the vncertainty of the way; euen so a yong man cannot promise himself longer life, then an olde man.

Against the vanitie of worldlie honour he speaketh thus: Euen as that criminall person, who is to be lead to execution shortly should be accounted vayne, if he should engraue his Coate of Armes vpon the prison gate; euen so are they vaine, who endeauour to leaue, with great industrie, monuments of their dignitie in the prison of this world.

By a subtile *dilemma*, he teacheth vs, why we are not to thinke that we can be hurt, by the losse of our superfluous goods, in this manner: he that suffereth anie losse of his goods, he would either haue bestowed them with praise and liberalitie, and so God will accept his will in steede of the deede it selfe, or else he would haue waisted them wickedly, and then he hath cause

cause to rejoyce, that the matter of sinning is taken away.

To expresse liuely the follie of an olde couetous man he writeth thus : a thiefe that is to dye to morrow, stealeth to day ; and being asked, why he did so, he answered, that it was a great pleasure vnto him to be maister of that money but one night ; so an olde miser neuer ceaseth to encrease his heape of coyne, though he be neuer so aged.

To expresse the follie and madnesse of them that delight wholly in hording vp wealth, he writeth in the person of the soules in purgatorie thus ; in his booke of the Supplication of the Soules : We that are here in purgatorie when we thinke of our bags of golde, which we horded vp in our life time, we condemne and laugh at our owne follie no otherwise, then if a man of good yeares should finde by chance the bagg of Cherrie stones, which he had carefully hidde, when he was a childe.

In his booke of Comfort in tribulation, that men should not be troubled in aduersitie, he writeth thus : The mindes of mortall men are so blinde and vn certaine, so mutable and vnconstant in their desires, that God could not punish men worse, then if he should suffer euerie thing to happen that euerie man doth wish for. The fruit of tribulation he describeth thus : all punishment inflicted in hell, is only as a iust reuenge because it is no place of purging : In purgatorie all punishments purge only, because it is no place of meritt ; but in this life,

euerie punishment can both purge sinne and procure meritt for a iust man, because in this life there is place for both.

He sayth also that they which giue themselves to pleasure and idlenesse in this time of pilgrimage, are like to him, who traueilling to his owne house, where there is abundance of all things, would yet be an hosteler in an Inne by the way, for to gett an Innekeepers fauour, and so ende his life there in a stable.

Speaking of ghostlie Fathers, that seeke to please their penitents, he sayth: Euen as a mother sendeth forth her childe to schoole with fayre words and promises, that hath slept too long in the morning, and therefore feareth the rodde, when he weepeth and blubbereth she promiseth him, all will be well, because it is not so late as he imagineth, or that his maister will pardon him for that fault this time, not caring what he endureth when he cometh thither indeede, so she send him merrie from home with his bread and butter in his hand; euen so, manie Pastours of soules speake pleasing things to their sheepe that are riche and delicate, they promise them, when they are dying, and feare hell, that all things shall be well with them, telling them, that either they haue not offended God so grieuously as they feare, or that God being mercieful will easily forgiue them; nothing carefull whether after this life they feele hell or no, so that they make them not sadde in this world, and shew themselves gratefull vnto them here.

Plea-



Pleasure, sayth he, doth not only withdrawe wicked men from prayer, but also affliction sometimes; yet this is the difference; that affliction doth sometimes wrest some short praier from the wickedest man aliue; but pleasure calleth away euen one that is indifferent good from all prayer.

Against impenitent persons and such as differre the amending of their life till the latter ende of their dayes, he sayth thus: A lewde fellowe that had spent all his life in wickednesse, was wont to bragge, that he could be saued, yf he spoke but three wordes at the hower of his death; riding ouer a bridge that was broken, his horse stumbling, and not being able to keepe himself from tumbling into the water, as he saw himself fall headlong into it casting away the bridle, he sayd: the Diuell Take All; and so with his three wordes he perished in the riuer.

He that is lightened with a true vision, differeth from him that hath an illusion; euen as a man awake differeth from him that dreameth.

Euen as he that passeth ouer a narrow bridge, by reason of his feare often falleth, especially if others say vnto him: you fall; which otherwise he would safely passe ouer; euen so he that is fearfull by nature and full of pusillanimitie, often falleth into desperation, the diuell crying vnto him; thou art damned, thou art damned; which he would neuer harken to, nor be in anie danger, if he should take vnto  
H 4 him

him a good hart, and by holesome counsell  
fear nothing the diuell's outcrye.

The prosperitie of this world is like the  
shortest winter's day; and we are lifted vp in  
it as an arrowe shott vp on high, where a hote  
breath doth delight vs, but from thence we  
fall suddenly to the earth, and there we sticke  
fast, either bemired with the durt of infamie,  
or staruing with colde, being pluckt out of  
our feathers.

Againe he sayth: As it is a hard thing, to  
touche pitch, and not to be defiled there with,  
a drye sticke to be putt into the fire, and not  
to burne, to nourish a snake in our bosome,  
and not to be stung with it; so a most hard  
thing it is to be rich and honoured in this world,  
and not to be strucke with the darte of pride  
and vaine glorie.

Lett there be two beggars, saith he, who  
haue long time begged together; one of  
whome some rich man hath entertayned in  
his house, putt him in silke, giuen him money  
in his purse, but with this condition, as he  
telles him, that with in a short space, he will  
thrust him out of his doores, and take all that  
away from him againe; if he in the meane  
while being thus gallant, should chance to meete  
with his fellow beggar, would he be so foolish  
as for all this not to acknowledge him for his  
companion? or would he for these few daies  
happinesse holde himselfe better then he? Ap-  
plying this to euerie mans case, who cometh  
naked into this world, and is to returne naked  
againc.

He

He compareth Couetousnesse to a fire, which by how much the more wood there is layde on it to burne, so much apter it is to burne more still.

That there are manie in this life, that buy hell with more toyle, then heauen might be wonne with, by halfe.

He foresawe heresie in England, as appeareth by this wittie comparison; Like as before a great storme the sea swelleth, and hath vnwonted motions without anie winde stirring; so may we see here manie of our Englishmen, which a few yeares agoe could not endure to heare the name of an Heretike, Schismaticke, Lutheran or Sacramentarie, now to be very well contented both to suffer them and to praise them somewhat, yea to learne by little and little as much as they can be suffered, to finde faulte, and to taxe willingly the Church, the Clergie, the Ceremonies, yea and Sacraments too.

Also he hath this argument; yf he be called stoute that hath fortitude, he hote, who hath heate, wise that hath wisedome; yet he who hath riches, cannot be sayd presently to be good; therefore riches cannot be numbred amongst good things. Twentie, yea a hundred bare heads standing by a noble man doe not defende his head from colde so much as his owne hat doth alone, which yet he is enforced to putt of in the presence of his prince.

That is the worst affection of the minde, which doth delight vs in that thing, which  
can-



cannot be gotten but by offending God. He that doth gett or keepe worldlie wealth by offending God, lett him fully perswade himself, that those thinges wil neuer do him good; for either God will quickly take away euill gotten goods, or will suffer them to be kept for a greater mischiefe.

Euen as he that knoweth certainly that he is to be banished into a strange countrie, neuer to returne into his owne againe, and will not endure that his goods be transported thither, being loath to want them for that little while rather then euer to enioy them after, may well be thought a madde man; so are they out of their witts, who inticed with vaine affections to keepe their goods alwaies about them, and neglectiue to giue almes for feare of wanting, cannot endure to haue these goods sent before them to heauen, when as they knowe most assuredly that they shall enioye them alwaies there with all plentie, and with a double reward.

To ease his thoughts when he was in prison, he imagined that all the world was but a prison, out of which euerie day some one or other was called to execution, that is to death.

In his dailie talke he vsed also manie wittie sayings, as: that it is an easie matter in some cases for a man to loose his head, and yet to haue no harme at all.

Good deedes the world being vngratefull is wont neuer to recompence, neither can it, though it were gratefull.

Speak-

Speaking of heretikes he would say; they haue taken away hipocrisie, but they haue placed impudencie in the roome thereof; so that they which before fayned themselues to be religious, now doe boaste of their wickednesse.

He prayed thus: O Lord God, grant, that I endeauour to gett those things, for which I am to pray vnto thee.

When he had anie at his table speaking detraction, he would interrupt them thus; Lett anie man thinke as he pleaseth, I like this roome very well; for it is well contriued and fayrely built.

Of an vngratefull person he would say, that they wrote good turnes donne vnto them in the dust; but euen the least iniuries, in marble.

He compareth reason to a handmayde, which if she be well taught, will obey; and Faith to the mistrisse, which is to keepe her in awe: *captiuans intellectum in obsequium fidei.*

To seeke for the truth amongst heretikes, is like to a man wandring in a desert, & meeting with a companie of lewde fellowes, of whome he asketh his way they all turning back to backe, each poynteth right before him, & assureth him that that is his true way; though neuer so contrarie one to the other.

He sayth that he were a madde man, that would drinke poyson to take a preseruatiue after that; but he is a wise man, that spilling the poison, leaueth the antidote for him, that hath need thereof.

As

As it is an easier thing to weaue a new nett rather then to sowe vp all the holes of an olde; euen so it is a lesse labour to translate the Bible a new, then to mende heretical versions.

He is not wise that eateth the bread, which is poysoned by his enemies, although he should see a friend of his scrape it away neuer so much, especially hauing other bread to eate not poysoned.

The heretikes saying that none ought to fast, but when they are troubled with the motions of the flesh, he answereth; if it be so, no married man needes to fast; for they haue another remedie at hand; and virgins durst not fast, least wanton fellowes should mark them, when carnall temptations most assaile them, and this were for one to shew to others their fleshlie fraylties.

He was wont to say that he may well be admitted to heauen, who was verie desirous to see God; but on the contrarie side, he that doth not desire earnestly shall neuer be admitted thither.

Against an heretike he speaketh thus: that if monastical life be against the Gospell, as you seeme to say it must needes be, that the gospell be contrarie vnto it; and that were to say that Christ taught vs to pamper ourselues carefully, to eate well, to drinke well, to sleepe well and flowe in all lust and pleasure.

Yf Faith cannot be without good workes, why then bable you so much against good workes, which are the fruits of sayth.

That



That people should fall into bad life and lust, is as great a miracle, he saith, as stones to fall downewards.

Whereas (he sayth) you inueighe against Schoole-Diuinitie, because truth is there called in doubt, not without danger; we inueighe against you, because false matters are held by you vndoubtedly for truth it selfe.

These good fellowes (speaking of heretikes) will rather hang out of Gods vinyarde, then suffer themselues to be hired into it.

Heretikes writings, seing they conclude no good thing, are altogeather tedious, be they neuer so short.

And againe: As none can runne a shorter race, then he that wantes both his feete; so none can write shorter then he that hath not anie good matter, nor fitt wordes to expresse it.

When an heretike tolde him, that he should not write against heretikes, vnlesse he could conuerte them; he sayd, that it was like, as if one should not finde faulte with burners of housen, vnlesse he were able to builde them yp againe at his owne charge.

He telleth, that heretikes vse to frame Catholikes arguments very weake and friuolous, that they may the more easily confute them; euen as little children make houses of tyle-shardes, which they cast downe with great sporte againe presently.

Of their contumelious speeches against himself he sayth, I am not so voyde of reason, that

that I can expect reasonable matter from such vnreasonable men.

When they sayd his writings were nothing but ieaſting toyes, he ſayth; I ſcarce belieue that theſe good brethren can finde anie pleaſant thing in my bookes; for I write nothing in them that may be pleaſing vnto them. When the heretike *Constantine* had broken priſon in his houſe, he bad his man goe locke the doore faſt and ſee the place mended ſure, leaſt he ſhould come back againe; and when the heretikes reported, that he was ſorie for this, that he could not for anger eate in three daies, he answered that he was not ſo harſh of diſpoſition to finde fault with anie man for riſing and walking, when he ſate not at his eaſe.

All his Engliſh workes were ſett out togeather in a great volume (a), whiſt Q. Marie raigned, by Iudge *Raſtall* Sir THOMAS his ſiſter's ſonne, by which workes one may ſee that he was verie ſkillfull in Schoole-Diuinitie and matters of Controuerſie, for he argueth ſharpe-ly, he confirmeth the truth profoundly, and citeth both Scriptures and Fathers moſt aptely; beſides he vrgeth for the aduerſe parte more a great deale, then anie heretike euer did, that wrote before him.

But to ſee how he (b) handleth *Luther* vnder the name of one *Roffe*, would do anie man

(a) They were printed in folio, at London, in 1557.

(b) To give the Reader a ſpecimen of Sir Tho. More's treatment of Luther, I ſhall tranſcribe the laſt period of his

good, faining that *Rosse* wrote his booke from *Rome*, against the most ridiculous and scurrilous pamphlett, which *Luther* had made against King *Henrie* the eighth, who of good zeale had sett out with great praise a booke in defence of the Seauen Sacraments, & the Pope's authoritie; for which Pope *Leo* the tenth gaue him the title of Defender of the Faith. Wherefore in defence of his Soueraigne, whome *Luther* had most basely rayled at, calling him often Thomistical asse, & that he would beray the king's Crowne, who was not worthie to wipe his shoes, with manie other scurrilous speeches; Sir THOMAS painteth out the fowle mouthed fellowe in his liuelie coulours, and made him so enraged, that it stung him more then anie other booke, that euer was sett out against him.

Finally in euerie one of his bookes, when-

his book, which I find also quoted by Dr. Stapleton, cap. 4. p. 187. wherein he gives his reasons for having us'd him with so much scurrility. *Quandoquidem Lutherus totum se devovit inferis, et obduravit in Schismate, statuere tamen secum debet aliquam saltem ut habeat civilis honestatis rationem, quo sibi potius vendicet auctoritatem Dogmatista, quam vilis in haeretico scurra. Quod si quando volet, si disceptabit serio, si mendacia sua recantet ac sycphantias, si abegerit stultitias, furores, et hactenus nimium familiares furias, si merdas suas resorbeat, et sua relingat stercora, quibus tam foede linguam suam calamumq; conspurcat, non deerunt qui de re gravi graviter, quod decet, differant. Verum si ad isum, quo coepit, modum scurrari pergat et furere, si grassari calumniâ, nugari stultitiâ, insanire dementiâ, scurrilitate ludere, nec aliud in ore gestare, quam sentinas, cloacas, latrinas, merdas, stercora; faciant quod volent alii; nos ex tempore capiemus consilium velimusne sic bacchantem ex ejus tractare virtutibus et coloribus suis depingere, an furiosum fraterculum et latrinarium nebulonem cum suis furiis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercoribus, cacantem cacatiumque relinquere.*

foeuer



foeuer he toucheth anie controuersie, he doth it so exactly that one may see, that he had diligently read manie great Diuines; (a) and that he was very well scene in *S. Thomas* the father of all Diuinitie, this may be an euident signe, which his Secretarie *John Harris* a man of sound iudgement and greate pietie, reported of him, that on a time an hereticall booke newly printed and spread abroad was brought to Sir THOMAS; which when he read, being in his boate, going from *Chelsey* to *London*, he shewed certaine of the author's arguments with his finger to Mr. *Harris* saying: Loe here how the knaue's argument is taken out of the obiections of *S. Thomas* in 2. 2. in such and such an article; but the lewde fellow might haue seen the solutions, which are presently added there. He maintayned also in a learned Disputation with Fa: *Alphonsus* the Franciscan *Q. Catherin's* ghostlie Father *Scotus* his opinion of Attrition and Contricion, as more safely to be followed, than that of *Occhamus*; by all which it may be gathered, that he had great insight in the diuersitie of Scholasticall opinions.

He wrote also a booke in Latine against *Pomeran* the heretike, and indeed laboured very much rather to reduce such men vnto the Catholike Faith then to punish them for their reuolte: & yet in his epitaphe he sayth of himself, that (b) he was to thecues, mur-

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 191.

(b) *Furibus autem, homicidis, Hereticisq; molestus.*  
Th. Mori.

Epitaph.  
therers,

therers and heretikes grievous; and (a) *Simon Grineus* a Lutheran boasteth in his translation of *Proclus* dedicated to my grandfather, how courteously Sir THOMAS his father vsed him, when he was in *England*.

## C H A P. V.

K. Henries first scruples in his Mariage; Sir THOMAS MORES care in the education of his children.

1. *The ambition of Cardinall Wolsey occasion of K. Henry his fall.* 2. *K. Henry communicates his scruple about his marriage with S. T. More.* 3. *S. T. Mores prædiction of the fall of England from religion.* 4. *He reduceth his sonne Roper miraculously from heresy.* 5. *He obtaineth his daughter Margarets health of God by prayer.* 6. *S. T. Mores domestique schoole.* 7. *His delight, and contentment in the studies of his children.* 8. *How his daughter Margaret proued excellent, for her sex, in learning.*

I. **W**HILE Sir THOMAS MORE was Chancellour of the Duchie, (b) the Sea of *Rome* chanced to be vacant; and Cardinall *Wolsey* a man of vnvariable am-

(a) See Stapleton. in Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 5. p. 215.

(b) Mr Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 17. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 18. p. 343. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 7. p. 35.

bition, who had crept vp in the fauour of *Charles* the Fift, (so that the Emperour still writing vnto him called him Father, and the other called him sonne,) hoped now by his meanes to attaine to the popedome; but perceiving himself of that expectation frustrate and disappoynted, because the Emperour in the time of their election had highly commended another to the whole Colledge of the Cardinalls, called *Adrian*, who was a Flemming, and had bene sometime his schoole maister, a man of rare learning & singular vertue; who therevpon although absent and little dreaming of it, was chosen Pope; and then forthwith going from Spayne, where he was then resident, came on foote to *Rome*. Before he entred into the Cittie, putting of his hose and shoes, barefoote and bare legg'd he passed through the streetes towards his palace, with such humilitie & deuotion that all the people not without cause had him in greate reuerence and admiracion; but, as I sayd, Cardinall *Wolsey*, a man of contrarie qualities, waxed therewith so wroth, and stomack'd so the Emperour for it euer after, that he studyed still how he might reuenge himselfe anie waies against him; which as it was the beginning of a lamentable tragedie, so the ende thereof we cannot yet see, although there haue bene almost one hundred yeares sithence. This *Wolsey* therefore not ignorant of King *Henrie's* vnconstant & mutable disposition, inclined to withdrawe his affections  
vpon



vpō euerie light occasion from his owne most noble, vertuous and lawfull wife *Q. Catherine* the Emperour's owne aunte, and to fixe \* this amorous passions vpō other women, nothing comparable vnto her either in birth, wisdome, vertue, fauour, or externall beautie; this irreligious prelate meaning to make the king's lightnesse an instrument to bring about his vnconscionable intent, endeaoured by all the meanes he could to allure the king to cast his fancie vpō one of the French king's sisters; the king being fallen in loue already, he not suspecting anie such thing, with the ladie *Anne Bullen* a woman of no nobilitie, no nor so much as of anie worthie fame.

This (a) French matche he thought to plott to spite the Emperour, because at that time there was great warres and mortall enmitie betweene the French king and *Charles* the Fift. For the better compassing whereof, the Cardinall requested *Longland* Bishopp of *London*, who was the king's ghostlie father, to putt a scruple into king *Henrie's* head, that he should, as it were another *S. Iohn Baptist*, (though the case were nothing like,) tell his Maiestie, that it was not lawfull for him like another *Herode* to marrie his brothers wife.

And although K. *Henrie's* conscience had bene quiett now aboue twentie yeares together, yet was he not vnwilling to hearken here-

\* Read *his*. (a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 18. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Th. More, cap. 7. p. 37.

vnto: but entertayning it (a), opened his scruple to Sir THOMAS MORE, whose counsell he required herein, shewing him certaine places of Scripture, that somewhat seemed to serue the turne and his appetite. Which when Sir THOMAS had seriously perused, and had excused himself saying, he was vnfitt to meddle with such matters, being one that neuer had professed the studie of Diuinitie: The king not satisfied with this answer, knowing well his iudgement to be sound in whatsoeuer he would apply himselfe vnto; pressed him so fore, that in conclusion he condescended to his Maiesties request being as it were a commaunde; and for that the cause was of such weight and importance, hauing neede of greate deliberation, he besought his Maiestie to giue him sufficient respite aduisedly to consider of it; with which the king very well satisfied (b), sayd that *Tunstall* and *Clarke*, two worthie Bishops, one of *Durham*, the other of *Bathe*, with others the learnedest of his priue Counsell should also be his Coadiutours.

Sir THOMAS (c) taking his leaue of the king, went and conferred with them about those places of Scripture, adding thereto, for their better meanes to search out the truth, the expositions of the ancient Fathers, and

(a) Ibid. Stapleton Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 14. p. 293.

(b) Stapleton says, the King refer'd him for satisfaction to Dr. Fox, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and at that time his Majesty's Almoner. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 14. p. 293.

(c) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 19. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, cap. 7. p. 38.

Doctours of the Church; and at his next coming to the Courte, talking with the king about this matter, he spake thus: "To deale  
" sincerely with your Maiestie neither my Lo:  
" of *Durham*, nor my Lo: of *Bathe*, though  
" I knowe them both wise, vertuous, learned,  
" and honourable prelates, nor my self with  
" the rest of your Councell, being all your  
" Grace's owne seruants and subiects, for your  
" manifold benefitts daily bestowed vpon vs  
" so much bound vnto your Highnesse; none  
" of vs, I say, nor we all together are in my  
" iudgement meete counsellors for your Ma-  
" iestie herein: but if your princelie disposi-  
" tion purpose to vnderstande the verie truth  
" hereof, you may haue such counsellors, as  
" neither for respect of their owne worldlie  
" commoditie, nor feare of your princelie  
" authoritie will be enclined to deceaue you;"  
and then he named *S. Hierome*, *S. Austine*,  
and diuerse others both Greke and Latine Fa-  
thers; shewing him moreouer, what authori-  
ties he had gathered out of them, that he neede  
not haue anie further scruple thereof, and that  
marrying of a new wife, whilst his owne was  
aliue, was wholly repugnant to their doctrine  
and the meaning of the Scriptures. All which  
though king *Henrie* did not very well like of,  
because it was disgustfull to his passionate lust;  
yet the manner of Sir THOMAS his discourse  
and collection was so wisely tempered, by his  
discreete communication, that he tooke them



at that present in good parte, and often had conference of them againe.

By which manner of Sir THOMAS his counsell and sincere carriage, one may easily gather, what vnspotted conscience this vpright man had, who for no hope of gaine, or anie feare of disgrace, would once swarue from the true dictamen of his Conscience: and if the rest of king *Henrie's* counsell had bene as backward, (to hinder this beginning of dissolution) as Sir THOMAS was, no alteration of religion had by all likelyhood happened in England; for from this onlie spring of King *Henrie's* intemperance, proceeded all the succeeding calamities, which haue daily increased, & yet haue not anie hope of amendement.

All which (a) change Sir THOMAS MORE either like a very wise man foresawe long before, or rather like a prophete prophecied thereof to my vncke *Roper*, who on a time of a certaine ioy beganne to commende to his father-in-lawe the happie estate of this realme, that had so Catholike and zealous a prince, that no heretike durst shew his face; so learned and vertuous a Cleargie, so graue and sounde a Nobilitie, such louing and obedient subiects, all agreing togeather in one faith and dutiefulnesse, as though they had *cor vnum & animam unam*, but one hart and one soule; Sir THOMAS thus replied a-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 20, 21. Stapleton, Vir. Th. Meri, cap. 7. p. 234. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 7, p. 40.

gaine: Truth it is indeede, sonne *Rooper*, as you say, and going through all estates with his commendations of them, he went farre beyond my vncle; and yet sonne, quoth he, I pray God, that some of vs, as high as wee seeme to sitt now vpon the mountaines, treading heretikes vnder our feete like aunes, do not liue the day that we gladly would wish to be in league with them, to suffer them to haue their churches quietly to themselues, so that they would be content to lett vs haue ours peaceably to our selues. When mine vncle *Rooper* had tolde him manie reasons, why he had no cause to say so; well, sayd he, I pray God some of vs liue not till that day; and yet shewed he noe reason for all these his speeches, whereat my vncle sayd in a choller: By my troath Sir it is very desperately spoken; I cry God mercie (saith my vncle) I vsed vnto him that very word. By which speach Sir THOMAS perceauing him to be somewhat angrie, sayd merrily: well sonne *Rooper*, it shall not be so, it shall not be so. But yet himself founde the prediction too true: for he liued vntil the fifteteenth yeare of *Q. Elizabeth's* raigne, when he saw religion turned topsie turuie, and no hope of anie amendment.

This spiritt of prophecie no doubt was a signe of Gods loue vnto Sir THOMAS, being so deare in his sight, that he would make him partaker of some parte of his secretts; but that

which (a) he wrought in the conuerſion of this his ſonne in lawe, was not a ſigne only, but an euident demonſtration of Gods great fauour vnto him. For when *Mr. William Rooper* was a yong man, he vſed auſteritie to himſelfe more then diſcretion afforded; and by this meanes he grew wearie of the Catholike faſts and religious diſcipline; and hearing of a new and eaſie way to heauen, which the preachers of nouelties did promiſe to their followers, he beganne to reade diligently the bookes of heresies, which came ouer, and were ſpread in euerie place of England; in ſo much that being wearie of Auricular Confeſſion, faſting the lent, and vigiles, he grew vehement in his new opinions, and zealous in breaking of them to others; ſo as that he would be alwaies talking, what a readie way to heauen was now found out, no bodie needing to ſue to Saints or mens prayers; but Gods care was open ſtill to heare, and his mercie readie to forgiue anie ſinner whatſoeuer, when he ſhall call to him by fayth, which was only neceſſarie to ſaluation; and hauing that only, which he aſſured himſelf of, he needed not doubt but that he was an elect and ſaued ſoule, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to ſinne or fall out of Gods fauour. Of this dangerous poiſon of ſecuritie he hauing druncke a full draught, he came on a time to Sir THOMAS to requeſt him,

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 222.



because he was highly in the king's fauour, that he would gett him a licence to preache, what the spiritt had taught him; for he wae assured that God had sent him to instruct the world; not knowing (god wote) anie reason of this his mission, but only his private spirit; to whome Sir THOMAS in a smiling manner replied; Is it not sufficient, sonne *Rooper*, that we that are your friends should knowe that you are a foole, but that you would haue your follie proclaimed to the world? After this he often disputed with him about matters of religion, yet neuer could he bring him to hearken to anie reason, euerie day seeming more obstinate then other, vntill at length he sayd: in sober sadnesse: I see, sonne, noe disputation will doe thee good; henceforth therefore I will dispute with thee no more, only will I pray for thee, that God will be so fauourable as to touch thy hart; and so committing him to God, they parted. And he earnestly powred out his deuotions before the Diuine mercie for that intent. And beholde my vncke not long after being inspired with the light of grace, beganne to detest his heresies; and, as another *S. Austin* was wholly conuerted; so that euer after he was not only a perfect Catholike, but liued and dyed a stoute and valiant Champion thereof, whose almes in charitable vses, was so great, that it is sayd, that he bestowed euerie yeare to the value of fise hundred pounds, especially in his latter daies in which he enioyed an office  
of

of great gayne and commoditie; and after his death I haue heard it reported by them, that were seruants in his house, that whilst his bodie lay vnburied for three or foure daies there was heard once a day for the space of a quarter of an hower the sweetest musike that could be imagined, not of anie voices of men, but angelicall harmonie, as a token how gracious that soule was to Almighty God, and to the quires of Angells.

Now this was a more special fauour, which God granted to Sir THOMAS his deuout pray-ers, then the rayfing of a dead man to life, by how much more the death of the soule is of more danger then the death of the bodie, yet it is certaine also, that this glorious man begged also corporall life for some of his deare friends. (a) On a time his daughter *Margaret* wife to this *William Rooper*, fell sicke of the sweating sicknesse, of which manie dyed at that time; who lying in so great extremie of the disease, that by no inuentions nor deuises that anie cunning phisician could vse at that time hauing continually about her most learned, wise, and expert that could be gotten, she could by no meanes be kept from sleepe; so that euerie one about her had iust cause to despaire of her recouerie, giving her vtterly ouer, her father as he that most loued her, being in noe small heauinesse at last sought

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 16. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 228. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 6. p. 33.

for remedie of this her desperate case from God. Wherefore going as his custome was, into his new building, there in his Chappell vpon his knees most deuoutly euen with manie teares besought Almighty God, vnto whome nothing was impossible, of his goodnesse, if it were his blessed will, that at his \* meditation he would vouchsafe graciously to graunt this his humble petition; where presently came into his minde, that a glister was the only way to helpe her: which when he tolde the phisicians, they confessed that it was the best remedie indeede, much marueling of themselves, they had not remembred it; which was immediately ministred vnto her sleeping; for else she would neuer haue bene brought to that kinde of medicine. And although when she awaked throughly, Gods markes (an euident and vndoubted token of death) plainly appeared vpon her, yet she contrarie to all expectation, was, as it were miraculously and by her fathers feruent prayer restored to perfect health againe; whome if it had pleased God at that time to haue taken to his mercie, her father solemnely protested that he would neuer haue medled with anie worldlie matters after, such was his fatherlie loue and vehement affection vnto this his Iewell, who most neerely of all the rest of his children expressed her fathers vertues, although the meanest of all the rest might haue bene matched with anie other of their age in England, either for learning, excellent qualities or pietie, they hauing bene brought up

\* Read *Mediation*.



even from their infancie with such care and industrie, and enioying alwaies most vertuous and learned maisters.

So that the (a) schoole of Sir THOMAS MORE's children was famous ouer the whole world; for that their witts were rare, their diligence extraordinarie, and their maisters most excellent men, as aboue the rest Doctour *Clement* an excellent Grecian and phisician, who was after reader oft he phisicke-lecture in *Oxford*, and sett out manie bookes of learning. After him one *William Gunnell* who read after with greate praise in *Cambridge*, and besides these one *Drue*, one *Nicolas*, and after all one *Richard Hart*, of whose rare learning and industrie in this behalfe, lett vs see, what may be gathered out of Sir THOMAS his letters vnto them, and (b) first to Mr. *Gunnell* thus:

*I haue receaued, my deare Gunnell, your letters, such as they are wont to be, most elegant & full of affection. Your loue towards my children I gather by your letter; their diligence, by their owne; for euerie one of their letters pleaseth me very much, yet most especially I take ioy to heare that my daughter Elizabeth hath shewed as greate modestie in her mother's absence, as anie one could doe, if she had bene in presence; lett her knowe that that thing liked me better, then all the epistles besides; for as I esteeme*

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 10. p. 250. seq.

(b) Ibid. p. 253.

learning, which is ioyned with vertue more then all the threasures of kings; so what doth the fame of being a great schollar bring vs, if it be seuered from vertue other then a notorious and famous infamie, especially in a woman, whome men will be readie the more willingly to assaile for their learning, because it is a rare matter, and argueth a reproche to the sluggishnesse of a man, who will not stick to lay the fault of their naturall malice upon the qualitie of learning supposing all their owne unskillfullnesse by comparing it with the vices of those that are learned, shal be accounted for vertue: but if anie woman on the contrarie parte (as I hope and wisbe by your instruction and teaching all mine will doe) shall ioyne manie vertues of the minde with a little skill of learning, I shall accounte this more happinesse, then if they were able to attaine to Cræsus's wealth ioyned with the beautie of fayre Helene; not because they were to gett great fame thereby, although that inseparably followeth all vertue, as shadowe doth the bodie, but for that they should obtaine by this the true rewarde of wisdom, which can neuer be taken away as wealth may, nor will fade, as beautie doth, because it dependeth of truth and iustice, and not of the blasts of mens mouthes, then which nothing is more foolish, nothing more pernicious; for as it is the dutie of a good man to eschew infamie, so it is not only the propertie of a proude man, but also of a wretch-  
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ed and ridiculous man to frame their actions only for praise; for that mans minde must needes be full of vnquietnesse, that alwaies wauers for feare of other mens iudgements betweene ioye and saddenesse. But amongst other the notable benefitts, which learning bestoweth vpon men, I accounte this one of the most profitable, that in getting of learning we looke not for praise, to be accounted learned men, but only to vse it in all occasions, which the best of all other learned men, I meane the philosophers those true moderators of mens actions haue deliuered vnto vs from hand to hand, although some of them haue abused their sciences, ayming only to be accounted excellent men by the people. Thus haue I spoken, my Gunnell, somewhat the more of the not coueting of vaine glorie, in regarde of those wordes in your letter, whereby you iudge that the high spiritt of my daughter Margaretts witt is not to be deiected, wherein I am of the same opinion that you are, but I thinke (as I doubt not but you are of the same minde) that he doth deiect his generous witt, whosoever accustometh himself to admire vaine and base obiects, and he rayseth well his spiritts, that embraceth vertue and true good, they are base minded indeede, that esteeme the shadowe of good things (which most men greedily snatch at, for want of discretion to iudge true good from apparent) rather then the truth it self. And therefore seing I holde this the best way for  
them



them to walke in, I haue not only requested you, my deare Gunnell, whome of yourself I knowe would haue donne it out of the intire affection you beare vnto them; neither haue I desired my wife alone, whome her motherlie pietie by me often and manie waies tryed doth stirre them vp thereto, but also all other my friends I haue intreated manie times to perswade all my children to this, that auoyding all the gulphes and downefalls of pride, they walke through the pleasant meadowes of modestie, that they neuer be enamoured of the glistering hue of golde and silver, nor lament for the want thereof, which by errour they admire in others, that they thinke no better of themselues for all their costlie trimmings, nor anie meaner for the want of them; not to lessen their beautie by neglecting it, which they haue by nature, nor to make it anie more by unseemelie art, to thinke vertue their chiefe happinesse, learning and good qualities the next, of which those are especially to be learned, which will auayle them most, that is to say, pietie towards \* Gods, Charitie towards all men, modestie, and Christian humilitie in themselues, by which they shall reape from God the rewarde of an innocent life, by certaine confidence thereof they shall not neede to feare death, and in the mean while enioying true alacritie, they shall neither be puffed vp with the vaine praises of men, nor deiected by anie slander of disgrace; these I esteeme the true  
and

\* Read Gods

and solide fruits of learning; which as they happen not, I confesse, to all that are learned, so those may easily attaine them, who be-  
ginne to studie with this intent; neither is there anie difference in haruest time, whether it was man or woman, that sowed first the corne; for both of them beare name of a reasonable creature equally, whose nature reason only doth distinguish from brute beastes, and therefore I do not see why learning in like manner may not equally agree with both sexes; for by it, reason is cultivated, and (as a fiede) sowed with wholesome precepts, it bringeth forth excellent fruit. But if the soyle of womans braine be of its owne nature bad, and apter to beare fearne then corne (by which saying manie doe terrifye women from learning) I am of opinion therefore that a woman's witt is the more diligently by good instructions and learning to be manured, to the ende, the defect of nature may be redressed by industrie. Of which minde were also manie wise and holie ancient Fathers, as, to omitt others, S. Hierome and S. Augustine, who not only exhorted manie noble matrones and honourable virgins to the getting of learning, but also to further them therein, they diligently expounded vnto them manie hard places of Scriptures; yea wrote manie letters vnto tender maydes, full of so greate learning, that scarcely our olde and greatest Professours of Diuinitie can well reade them, much lesse be able to vnderstande them

them perfectly; which holie Saints workes you will endeauour, my learned Gunnell, of your courtesie, that my daughters may learne, whereby they may chiefly knowe, what ende they ought to haue in their learning, to place the fruits of their labours in God, & a true Conscience; by which it will be easily brought to passe, that being at peace within themselves, they shall neither be moued with praise of flatterers, nor the nipping follies of vnlearned scoffers; but methinkes I heare you replye, that though these my precepts be true; yet are they too strong and hard for the tender age of my yong wenches to hearken too: For what man, be he neuer so aged or expert in anie science, is so constant or stayed, that he is not a little stirred vp with the tickeling of glorie? And for my parte, I esteeme that the harder it is to shake from vs this plague of pride, so much the more ought euerie one to endeauour to do it from his verie infancie. And I thinke there is no other cause, why this almost ineuitable mischiefe doth sticke so fast in our breasts, but for that it is ingrafted in our tender mindes euen by our nurses, as soone as we are crept out of our sbelles; it is fostered by our maisters, it is nourished and perfected by our parents, whilst that no bodie propoundeth anie good thing to children, but they presently bidde them expect praise as the whole rewarde of vertue; whence it is, that they are so much accustomed to esteeme much of honour and praise, that by seeking to  
K  
please



please the most, who are alwaies the worst, they are still ashamed to be good with the fewest. That this plague may the farther be banished from my children, I earnestly desire, that you, my deare Gunnell, their mother and all their friends, would still sing this song, vnto them, hammer it alwaies in their heads, and inculcate it vnto them vpon all occasions, that vaine glorie is abiect, and to be despised, neither anie thing to be more worthie or excellent, then that humble modestie, which is so much praised by Christ; the which prudent Charitie will so guide and direct, that it will teache vs to desire vertue rather then to vpbrayde others for their vices, and will procure rather to loue them, who admonish vs of our fault, then hate them, for their holesome counsell. To the obtayning whereof nothing is more auayleable, then to reade vnto them the holesome precepts of the Fathers, whome they knowe not to be angrie with them, and they must needes be vehemently moued with their authorities, because they are venerable for their sanctitie. If therefore you reade anie such thing vnto Margarett and Elizabeth, besides their lessens in Salust, for they are of riper iudgement by reason of their age, then Iohn and Cecilie, you shall make both me and them euerie day more bound vnto you; moreouer you shall hereby procure my children being deare by nature, after this more deare for learning,

*learning, but by their increase of good manners most deare vnto me. Farewell. From the Court this Whitsuneeue.*

Another epistle of Sir THOMAS MORE to his Children. (a) Thomas More to his whole schoole sendeth greetinge: Beholde how I haue found out a compendious way to salute you all, and make spare of time and paper, which I must needes haue wasted in saluting euerie one of you particularly by your names; which would be uerie superfluous, because you are all so deare vnto me, some in one respect, some in another, that I can omitt none of you vnsaluted. Yet I knowe not, whether there can be anie better motiue, why I should loue you, then because you are schollars, learning seeming to binde me more straytely vnto you, then the nearenesse of bloud. I rejoyce therefore that Mr. Drue is returned safe, of whose safetie you knowe I was carefull. If I loued you not exceedingly, I should enuie this your so great happinesse, to haue had so manie great schollars for your maisters. For I thinke Mr. Nicolas is with you also, and that you haue learned of him much astronomic; so that I heare you haue proceeded so farre in this science, that you now knowe not only the pole-starre, or dogg, and such like of the common Constellations, but also, which argueth an absolute and cunning astronomer, in the chiefe planetts.

(a) Stapleton. in Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 10, p. 257.

themselves: you are able to discerne the sunne from the moone; goe forward therefore with this your new and admirable skill, by which you do thus climbe vp to the starres, which whilst you daily admire, in the meane while I admonish you also to thinke of this holie fast of Lent, and lett that excellent and pious song of Boethius sound in your eares, whereby you are taught also with your mindes to penetrate heauen, least when the bodie is lifted vp on high, the soule be driuen downe to the earth with the brute beasts. Farewell. From the Court this 23th of March.

Another. (a) Thomas More to his best beloued Children, and to Margaret Gigs, whome he numbretb amongst his owne, sendeth greeting: The marchant of Bristow brought vnto me your letters, the next day after he had receaued them of you, with the which I was exceedingly delighted. For there can come nothing, yea though it were neuer so rude, neuer so meanelly polished, from this your shoppe, but it procureth me more delight then anie other mens workes, be they neuer so eloquent; your writing doth so stirre vp my affection towards you; but excluding these your letters may also very well please me for their owne worth, being full of fine witt, and of a pure Latine phrase: therefore none of them all, but ioyed me exceed-

(a) Ibid. p. 258.



ingly, yet to tell you ingeniously what I thinke  
my sonne Iohn's letter pleased me best, both  
because it was longer then the other, as al-  
so for that he seemeth to haue taken more  
paynes then the rest. For he not only paynt-  
eth out the matter decently, and speaketh  
elegantly, but he playeth also pleasantly with  
me, and returneth my ieaſtes vpon me againe  
very wittily; and this he doth not only plea-  
santly, but temperately withall, ſhewing that  
he is mindeſull with whome he ieaſteth, to  
witt, his father, whome he endeauoureth  
ſo to delight, that he is alſo aſeared to of-  
fende. Hereafter I expect euerie day letters  
from euerie one of you; neither will I ac-  
cept of ſuch excuſes, as you complaine of,  
that you had no leaſure, or that the Carrier  
went away ſuddenly, or that you haue no  
matter to write; Iohn is not wont to alleage  
anie ſuch things; nothing can hinder you  
from writing, but manie things may exhort  
you thereto; why ſhould you lay anie faulte  
vpon the Carrier, ſeing you may preuent his  
coming, and haue them readie made vp,  
and ſealed two daies before anie offer them-  
ſelues to carrie them. And how can you  
want matter of writing vnto me, who am  
delighted to heare eyther of your ſtudies, or  
of your play: whome you may euen then pleaſe  
exceedingly, when hauing nothing to write  
of, you write as largely as you can of that  
nothing, then which nothing is more eaſie  
for you to doe, eſpecially being women, and  
there.

therefore prattlers by nature, and amongst whom daily a great storie riseth of nothing. But this I admonish you to doe, that whether you write of serious matters, or of trifles, you write with diligence and consideration, premeditating of it before; neither will it be amisse, if you first indite it in English, for then it may more easily be translated into Latine, whilst the minde free from inuention is attentiuely to finde apt and eloquent wordes. And although I putt this to your choice, whether you will do so or no: yet I enioyne you by all means, that you diligently examine what you haue written, before you write it ouer fayre againe; first considering attentiuely the whole sentence, and after examine euerie parte thereof, by which meanes you may easily finde out, if anie solecismes haue escaped you: which being putt out, and your letter written fayre, yet then lett it not also trouble you to examine it ouer againe; for sometimes the same faulces creepe in at the second writing, which you before had blotted out. By this your diligence you will procure, that those your trifles will seeme serious matters. For as nothing is so pleasing but may be made vsauorie by prating garrulitie; so nothing is by nature so vnpleasant, that by industrie may not be made full of grace and pleasantnesse. Farewell my swetest Children. From the Court this 3. of September.

(a) Anq.

(a) Another letter to his daughter Margaret only: *Thy letters (dearest Margaret) were gratefull vnto me, which certified me of the state of Shaw; yet would they haue bene more gratefull vnto me, if they had tolde me, what your and your brother's studies were, what is read amongst you euerie day, how pleasantly you conferre togeather, what themes you make, and how you passe the day away amongst you in the sweete fruits of learning. And although nothing is written from you, but it is most pleasing vnto me, yet those things are most sugred sweete, which I cannot learne of but by you or your brother. And in the ende: I pray thee, Megg, see that I vnderstande by you, what your studies are. For rather then I would suffer you, my children, to liue idely, I would my self looke vnto you, with the losse of my temporall estate, bidding all other cares and businesses Farewell, amongst which there is nothing more sweete vnto me, then thy self, my dearest daughter. Farewell.*

It seemeth also by another letter of his, how carefull he was that his children might be learned and diligent, and he prayseth them for it thus: (b) *Thomas More sendeth greeting to his most deare daughters Margaret, Elizabeth and Cecilie; and to Margaret Gigs as deare to him as if she were his owne. I cannot sufficiently expresse, my best beloued wenches, how*

(a) Ibid. p. 260.

(b) Ibid. p. 261.



your eloquent letters haue exceedingly pleased me; and this is not the least cause, that I vnderstande by them, you haue not in your iourneys, though you change places often, omitted anie thing of your custome of exercising yourselues, either in making of Declamations, composing of verses, or in your Logike exercises; by this I perswade my selfe, that you dearely loue me, because I see you haue so great a care to please me by your diligence in my absence, as to perfourme these things, which you knowe how gratefull they are vnto me in my presence. And as I finde this your minde and affection so much to delight me, so will I procure that my retorne shall be profitable vnto you. And perswade yourselues that there is nothing amongst these my troublesome & carefull affaires that recreateth me so much, as when I reade somewhat of your labours, by which I vnderstande those things to be true, which your most louing maister writeth so louingly of you, that vnesse your owne epistles did shew euidently vnto me, how earnest your desire is towards learning, I should haue iudged that he had rather written of affection then according to the truth: but now by these that you write, you make him to be believed, and me to imagine those things to be true of your wittie and acute disputacions, which he boasteth of you almost aboue all beliefe; I am therefore maruelous desirous to come home, that we may heare them, and sett our schollar to dispute with you, who is slowe to believe, yea  
out

out of all hope or conceipt to finde you able, to be answerable to your master's prayses. But I hope, knowing how steadfast you are in your affections, that you will shortly overcome your maister, if not in disputing, at least in not leauing of your strife. Farewell, deare wenches.

And thus you may coniecture how learned his daughters were; (a) to whome for this respect *Erasmus* dedicated his *Commentarie* ypon *Onide de nuce*. *Lewis Vives* also writeth great commendations of this schoole of Sir THOMAS MORE's in his booke to Q. *Catherine of England*. And both *Erasmus* dedicated *Aristotle* in Greeke, and *Simon Grineus*, who although an heretike, yet in respect of his learning had bene kindly vsed by Sir THOMAS MORE, as he writeth himself, did dedicate *Plato* and other bookes in Greeke vnto my grandfather *Iohn More* as to one that was also very skillfull in that tounge. See what (b) *Grineus* speaketh vnto him: *There was a great necessitie, why I should dedicate these bookes of Proclus full of maruelous learning, by my paynes sett out, but not without the singular benefitt of your father effected, vnto you, to whome by reason of your father-like vertues all the fruit of this benefitt is to redounde, both because you may be an ornament*

(a) Ibid. p. 262.

(b) In *Epist. dedicat. Platoni præfixâ*, quoted also by Dr. Stapleton, in *Vit. Th. Mori*, cap. 10. p. 263.

unto them, and they also may doe great good unto you, whome I knowe to be learned, and for these graue disputacions sufficiently provided and made fitt, by the continuall conuersation of so worthie a father, and by the companie of your sisters, who are most expert in all kinde of sciences. For what Authour can be more gratefull to those desirous mindes of most goodlie things, such as you and the Muses your sisters are, whome a diuine heate of spiritt to the admiration and a new example of this our age, hath driuen into the sea of learning so farre, and so happily, that they see no learning to be aboue their reache, no disputations of philosophie aboue their capacitie: And none can better explicate entangled questions, none sifte them more profoundly, nor none conceaue them more easily, then this authour.

Lett vs see another (a) letter to his daughter Margaret only: You aske monye, deare Megg, too shamefully and fearefully of your father, who is both desirous to giue it you, and your letter hath deserued it, which I could finde in my hart to recompence, not as Alexander did by Cherilus, giuing him for euerie verse a Philippine of golde; but if my abilitie were answerable to my will, I would bestowe two Crownes of pure golde for euerie sillable thereof. Here I sende you as much as you requested, being willing to haue sent

(a) Apud Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 10. p. 263.



*you more; but that as I am glad to give, so am desirous to be asked and fawned on by my daughters, thee especially, whome vertue and learning hath made most deare vnto me. Wherefore the sooner you haue spent this money well as you are wont to doe, and the sooner you aske me for more, the sooner knowe you will doe your father a singular pleasure. Farewell my most beloued daughter.*

This (a) daughter was likest her father as well in fauour as witt, and proued a most rare woman for learning, sanctitie, and secrecie, and therefore he trusted her with all his secretts. She wrote two Declamations in English, which her father and she turned into Latine so elegantly, as one could hardly iudge which was the best. She made also a treatise of the Foure Last things; which her father sincerely protested, that it was better then his, and therefore, it may be, neuer finished his. She corrected by her witt a place in *S. Cyprian*, corrupted, as (b) *Pamelian* and *Iohn Coster* testifie, in steede of *nisi vos sinceritatis*, rectoring *neruos sinceritatis*. To her *Erasmus* wrote an epistle, as to a woman not only famous for manners, and vertue, but most of all for learning. We haue heretofore made mention of her letter that Cardinal *Poole*

(a) Stapleton. *Vit. Th. Mori*, cap. 11. p. 264.

(b) For *Pamelian* read *Pamelius*. The Passage refer'd to is in his Notes upon the 3<sup>ist</sup> Epistle of *S. Cyprian*. See also *Costerius's* Observations upon the Commonitory of *Vincen-tius Lirinensis*, p. 47.

so liked, that when he had read it, he would not belieue it could be anie womans; in answer whereof Sir THOMAS did sende her the letter, some parte whereof we haue seene before; the rest is this, which though there were no other testimonie of her extraordinarie learning, might suffice; *In the meane time, (a)* faith her father, *I thought with myself how true I found that now, which once I remember I spoke vnto you in ieaſte, when I pitied your hard happe, that men that read your writings, would suspect you to haue had helpe of some other man therein, which would derogate somewhat from the praises due to your workes; ſeing that you of all others deſerue least to haue ſuch a ſuſpition had of you, or that you neuer could abide to be decked with the plumes of other birds. But you, ſweete Megg, are rather to be praised for this, that ſeing you cannot hope for condignepraiſe of your labours, yet for all this you goe forward with this your inuincible courrage, to ioine with your vertue the knowledge of moſt excellent ſciences; and contenting yourſelf with your owne pleaſure in learning, you neuer hunte after vulgar praiſes, nor receaue them willingly, though they be offered you; And for your ſingular pietie and loue towards me, you eſteeme me and your husband a ſufficient and ample theater for you to content you with; who in requitall of this your affection be-*

(a) Stapleton Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 11. p. 266.

*seech God and our Ladie, with as hartie praiers as possible we can powre out, to give you an easie and happie childbirth, to encrease your familie with a childe most like yourself, except only in sexe; yet yf it be a wench, that it may be such a one, as would in time recompence by imitation of her mothers learning and vertues, what by the condition of her sexe may be wanting; such a wenche I should preferre before three boyes. Farewell, dearest daughter.*

But see, I pray you, (a) how a most learned bishopp in England was rauished with her learning and witt, as it appeareth by a letter, which her father wrote vnto her to certifye her thereof. Thomas More sendeth hartie greeting to his dearest daughter Margarett: I will let passe to tell you, my sweetest daughter, how much your letter delighted me; you may imagine how exceedingly it pleased your father, when you vnderstande what affection the reading of it raysed in a stranger. It happened me this euening to sitt with Iohn Lo: Bishopp of Exeter, a learned man, and by all mens iudgement, a most sincere man: As we were talking togeather, and I taking out of my pockett a paper, which was to the purpose we were talking of, I pulled out, by chance, therewith your letter. The handwriting pleasing him, he tooke it from me and looked on it; when he perceaued it by the

(a) Stapleton Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 11. p. 267.



salutation to be a womans, he beganne more greedily to reade it, noueltie inuiting him therevnto: but when he had read it, and understood that it was your writing, which he neuer could haue believed, if I had not seriously affirmed it; such a letter, I will say no more; yet why should not I reporte that which he sayd vnto me? so pure a Stile, so good Latine, so eloquent, so full of sweete affections; he was maruelously rauished with it; when I perceaued that, I brought forth also an Oration of yours, which he reading, and also manie of your verses, he was so moued with the matter so vnllooked for, that the verie countenance and gesture of the man free from all flatterie and deceit, bewrayed that his minde was more then his words could utter, although he uttered manie to your greate praise; and forthwith he drew out of his pockett a portegué, the which you shall receaue enclosed herein. I could not possibly shunne the taking of it, but he would needes sende it vnto you, as a signe of his deare affection towards you, although by all meanes I endeauoured to giue him againe; which was the cause I shewed him none of your other sisters workes; for I was asfeared least I should haue bene thought to haue shewed them of purpose, because he should bestowe the like courtesie vpon them; for it troubled me sore, that I must needes take this of him: but he is so worthie a man, as I haue sayd, that it is a happinesse to please him thus; write carefully vnto him and as  
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*eloquently as you are able, to giue him thanks therefore. Farewell; from the Court this 11th. of Septemb. euen almost at midnight.*

(a) She made an oration to answer *Quintilian*, defending that rich man, which he accuseth for hauing poysoned a poor mans bees, with certaine venemous flowers in his garden, so eloquent and wittie that it may striue with his. She translated *Eusebius* out of Greeke, but it was neuer printed, because *Christopher-son* at that time had done it exactly before. Yet one other letter will I sett downe of Sir THOMAS to this his daughter, which is thus : Thomas More *sendeth greeting to his dearest daughter Margarett: There was noe reason, my dearest daughter, why thou shouldst haue differred thy writing vnto me one day longer, for feare that thy letters being so barren, should not be read of me without loathing. For though they had not been most curious, yet in respect of thy sexe, thou mightest haue bene pardoned by anie man; yea euen a blemish in the childe's face, seemeth often to a father beautiefull. But these your letters, Megg, were so eloquently polished, that they had nothing in them, not only why they should feare the most indulgent affection of your father More, but also they needed not to haue regarded euen Momus his censure, though neuer so teastie. I greatly thanke Mr. Nicolas our deare friend (a most expert man*

(b) Ibid. p. 268. seq.

in astronomie) and doe congratulate your happinesse, whome it may fortune within the space of one moneth with a small labour of your owne to learne so manie and such high wonders of that mightie and eternall workeman, which were not found but in manie ages, by watching in so manie colde nights vnder the open skyes, with much labour and paines, by such excellent and aboue all other mens vnderstanding witts. This which you write, pleaseth me exceedingly, that you had determined with yourself to studie philosophie so diligently, that you will hereafter recompence by your diligence, what your negligence hath heretofore lost you. I loue you for this, deare Megg, that whereas I neuer haue found you to be a loyterer (your learning which is not ordinarie, but in all kinde of sciences most excellent, euidently shewing, how painefully you haue proceeded therein) yet such is your modestie, that you had rather still accuse yourself of negligence, then vainely boaste of diligence; except you meane by this your speech that you will be hereafter so diligent, that your former endeauours, though indeede they were great and praise worthie, yet in respect of your future diligence, may be called negligence. If it be so that you meane (as I doe verily thinke you doe), I imagine nothing can happen to me more fortunate, nothing to you, my dearest daughter, more happie; For as I haue earnestlie wished that you might spende the rest of your life in studying phisicke and  
holie



holie Scriptures, by the which there shall neuer be helpes wanting vnto you, for the ende of mans life; which is, to endeaour that a sounde minde be in a healthfull bodie, of which studies you haue alreadie layde some foundations, and you shall neuer want matter to builde thereupon; so now I thinke that some of the first yeares of your youth yet flourishing may be very well bestowed in humane learning & the liberall Arts, both because your age may best struggle with those difficulties, and for that it is vncertaine, whether at anie time else we shall haue the commoditie of so carefull, so louing, and so learned a maister: to lett passe, that by this kinde of learning our Iudgements are either gotten, or certainly much helped there by. I could wishe, deare Megg, that I might talke with you a long time about these matters, but beholde they which bring in supper, interrupt me and call me away. My supper cannot be so sweete vnto me, as this my speach with you is, if I were not to respect others more then myself. Farewell, dearest daughter, & commend me kindly to your housband, my louing sonne, who maketh me reioyce for that he studieth the same things you doe; and whereas I am wont alwaies to counsell you to giue place to your husband, now on the other side I giue you licence to striue to maister him in the knowledge of the sphere. Farewell againe & againe. Commende me to all your schoole-fel-

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lowes,

*lowes, but to your maister especially.* And hauing vpon this occasion of speaking of Sir THOMAS his children, how tenderly he loued them, how earnestly he sought to make them schollars, & with their schollarshipp to haue them ioyne vertue, made somewhat a longer digression, then I thought; we will returne, as we had begunne, to speake of the alteration of religion in our Countrey, & how therevpon Sir THOMAS MORE fell into trouble.

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## C H A P.

## C H A P. VI.

SIR THOMAS MORE made Lord high Chauncellor of England.

1. *The excellent charity of Sir Tho. More toward his neighbours.* 2. *The beginning of King Henries separation from the Church of God.* 3. *Cardinall Wolseys disgrace, downfall, and death.* 4. *Sir Thomas More installed in the office of Lord Chancellor.* 5. *His incomparable behaueour in that high place of honour.* 6. *He refuseth to allow of K. Henries diuorcement.*

1. **W**Hilst this vnluckie diuorce was so hotely pursued by the king, it happened that my (a) vncle *Rooper* walking with his father along by the Thames side, neare *Chelsey*, amongst other talke Sir THOMAS sayd; "now would to our Lord, sonne *Rooper*, that vpon condition threë things were established in Christendome, I were put into a sacke and here presently cast into the Thames." "What greate things are those, good Sir, sayd he, that should moue you so to wish?" "Wouldst thou knowe them,

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 14. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 5. p. 26.



“sonne *Rooper* ;” “yea Marry, Sir, with a good will, sayd he, if it would please you.” “In Faith, sonne, they be these ; First, that where the most parte of Christian princes be at mortall warre, they were at an vniuersall peace ; secondly, whereas the Church of Christ is at this time sore afflicted with manie errours and heresies, it were settled in a perfect vniformitie of religion : Thirdly, that whereas the matter of the king’s marriage is now in question, it were to the glorie of God and quietnesse of all parties brought to a good conclusion.” Whereby one might well gather, that otherwise this would be a disturbance to a great parte of Christendome. The first he saw in some sorte granted him by his meanes ; the other two are this day to be seene, what tragedies they haue raised in *England* and else where.

Thus did he by his words and deedes shew throughout the whole course of his life, that all his thoughts, trauailes and paines were only for the honour of God without respect either of his owne glorie or regarde of any earthlie commoditie ; For it may be seene by manie things as well deedes as letters, how much he contemned the honours which were heaped vpon him daily by his Prince’s speciall bountie and fauour towards him, and my vncle (a) *Rooper* testifyeth from his owne mouth in his latter daies, that he professed vnto him, that

(a) *Roper’s Life of Sir Tho. More*, p. 15.

he neuer asked of the king for himselfe the value of one penny. The like may be sayd of his contempt of riches and worldlie wealth; but a fitter place to speake thereof may be had hereafter. All which excellent endowments of his minde proceeded no doubt from the speciall fauour of Almighty God, and the feruent zeale of this his seruant to attaine to perfection of all vertues.

(a) He built a Chappell in his parish Church at *Chelsey*, where the parish had all ornaments belonging therevnto abundantly supplied at his charge, and he bestowed there on much plate, often speaking those wordes: Good men giue it, and badde men take it away.

He seldome vsed to feaste noble men (b), but his poore neighbours often, whome he would visite in their houses, and bestowe vpon them his large liberalitie, not groates, but Crownes of golde, yea more then that according to their wants. He hired a house also for manie aged people in *Chelsey*, whome he daily relieued; and it was my aunte *Roper's* charge to see them want nothing. And when he was a priuate lawyer, he would take no fees of poore folkes, widowes nor pupills.

2. A little before he was preferred to the dignitie of Chancellourshipp, (c) there were

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 220.

(b) Ibid. p. 225.

(c) Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 19. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 14. p. 292. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Th. More, cap. 7. p. 39.

questions propounded to manie, whether the king in the case of his first marriage needed haue anie scruple at all; and if he had, what way were best to deliuer him from it. The most parte of his Counsell were of opinion, that there was good cause of scruple, because *Q. Catherine* was married before to Prince *Arthur*, king *Henrie's* elder brother; wherefore she was not to be wife to two brothers; and therefore to ease the king's minde, suite was to be made to the pope and the Sea of *Rome*, where the king hoped by liberall guifts to obtaine what he desired; but in this, as after it appeared, he was farre deceaued.

After this there was a Commission procured from *Rome* for triall and examination of this marriage; in which the Cardinalls *Wolsey* and *Campegius*, were ioyned togeather; who for the determination hereof sate at the Black Fryers at *London*, where a bill was putt in for the annulling of the former matrimonie, alleadging that that marriage was vtterly vn-lawfull; but on the other side for prooffe that it was lawfull and good a Dispensation was brought forth, which was of verie good force, as touching the power which the Pope had to dispence in a law that was neither contrarie to Gods positieue law in the olde Testament, but rather agreable thereto, nor to the law of Nature, and it was commaunded in *Leuiticus*, that if the brother dyed without issue, the next in kindred to him in a manner should be forced to marrie his wife. But there



there was found an imperfection in the Dispensation; yet that same was lawfully supplied by a publike Instrument or brieve found in the Threasure of *Spaine*, which was sent immediately to the Commissioners in *England*, and so should iudgement haue bene giuen by the Pope accordingly, that the first marriage stode in force, had not king *Henry* vpon intelligence thereof, before the iudgement was pronounced, appealed to the next Generall Councell. *Hinc illa lachrimæ*; hence came the deadly enmitie betweene the king and the Pope; hence proceeded that bitternesse of king *Henry*, that he commaunded none should appeale to *Rome*, nor none should so much as goe thither; no Bishops nor Spirituall men should haue anie Bulles of authoritie from thence; all spirituall Iurisdiction beganne now, neuer before thought of, to be inuested from God immediately vpon the Imperiall Crowne of *England*; but this not all at once: yea he grew afterwards vnto such height of malice, that he caused the name of Pope to be raized out of euerie booke that could be found either printed or written. He caused *S. Thomas of Canterburie* to be attaynted of high treason after he had bene three hundred yeares accounted a blessed Martyr of the whole Church; yea so acknowledged by king *Henry* the second who was cause of his death; but this king most strangely cast his sacred bones out of his renowned shreene, after numbers of miracles, and caused them to be burnt. This was the

strange passe king *Henry* was brought vnto doting on *Anne Bullen*, though, God knowes, she had no qualities wherefore he should so doate on her, as appeared euidently when for fowle matters he after a short time cutt of her head, and proclaymed himself in open Parlement to be a Cuckolde; which no doubt he neuer had bene, if he had kept himself to his first vertuous wife *Q. Catherine*; but all these things happened a good while after, and manie other extreame violences and ensuing miseries, as we doe see and feele as yet.

3. Whilst those things were a doing, as is before sayd, about the king's diuorce, and nothing yet brought to anie conclusion, (a) the king sent *Tunstall* bishopp of *Durham* & Sir THOMAS MORE Embassadours to *Cambray* to treat of a peace betweene him and the French king, and *Charles* the Emperour: in which iourney Sir THOMAS so worthily behaued himself that he procured in our league with the sayd Princes farre more benefitts to our realme then at that time was thought possible by the king and all his Councell; insomuch that his Maiestie caused it afterwards openly to be declared to the people, when he was made Chancellour, how much all *England* was bound to Sir THOMAS MORE. And now at his returne the king againe was verie earnest with him to haue him agree to his second marriage; for which

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Th. More, p. 21. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 14. p. 294. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, cap. 7. p. 41.

cause also it is thought, and (a) Cardinall *Poole* testifyeth it in a letter, he made him the rather Lo: Chancellour; telling him, that though the dispensation was good in respect of the lawes of the Church, yet now it was found out to haue bene against the lawe of nature, in which no dispensation could be had, as (b) Doctour *Stokeley*, (whome for that quirke found out he had lately preferred to the Bishopricke of *London*,) was able to instruct him, with whome he willed Sir THOMAS to conferre in that point. But for all the conferences he could haue with him, Sir THOMAS could no way induce himselfe to change his former opinion therein. Yet the Bishopp relating to the king their Conference, so fauourably reported of Sir THOMAS MORE's carriage therein, that he sayd, he found him verie toward and desirous to finde out good matter, wherein he might truly serue his grace to his contentment, but yet he could not.

This Bishopp hauing bene lately by the Cardinall in the Starre-Chamber openly disgraced and awarded to the Fleete, not brooking this contumelie, fought by all meanes to wreake his anger against the Cardinall: and picked a quarrell at him to the king, because he beganne to waxe colde in the diuorce. For so it was, that Wolsey was sent ouer into France to treat a marriage betweene king *Henry* and the king

(a) Stapleton Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 14. p. 294.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 42. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 8. p. 43.



of France's sister : and finding their willing acceptance, it was likeliest to come to that issue, which he hoped for. Yet God so wrought to crosse him, that this verie inuention, which he had first plotted to reuenge himself on *Charles* the Emperour, this same was the pitt, wherein he fell, and whereby all his dignitie, credit, and wealth was taken away ; so that of him it may well be sayd : *incidit in foueam quam fecit*. For whilst he was contriuing for the king a marriage in *France*, the king himself little to his knowledge had knitt the knott in *England* with a meane woman in respect of a prince, a priuate knight's daughter, and of meaner conditions then anie gentlewoman of worth.

Wherefore *Wolfey* returning, and finding his embassage crossed, beganne to repine at the king for disgracing him so much, and now wished that he had neuer beganne to putt such scruples into *Longlands* head ; which *Stokeley* soone finding, and himself hauing deuised a new knott in a rush, to bring the king in better liking of himself for his forwardnesse, and into more dislike of the Cardinall so wrought with his Maiestie, that he sent for the Cardinall back, being now on his way gone to be enstalled in the archbishoprick of *Torke* : so that by *Sir William Kinston* he was arreasted of high treason, hauing confiscated all his goods before, so that he that had bene one of the greatest prelates of Christendome, had not now one dish to be serued in at the table ; who  
yf

yf he had loued God halfe so well as he adored his prince, could neuer haue come to such miserie; for that he dyed either with sorrowe or poison shortly after.

(a) But the king caused in his place of Chancellourshipp Sir THOMAS MORE to be placed, that with that bayte, (b) faith Card: *Poole*, corrupted, he might the more easily be brought to the bente of the king's bowe; who behaued himself so excellently in the place, as one may say that none euer before him did better, although he was the first lay man that euer possessed that roome, (c) as Card: *Poole* noteth; yea (d) *Wolsey* himself hearing that Sir THOMAS MORE should haue it, though he was very loath to leese it himselve, and withall bore Sir THOMAS no more good will, then needes he must; yet professed he to manie, that he thought none in *England* more worthis of it then Sir THOMAS; such was his fame, that none could enuie it, though it were neuer so vnaccustomed a case.

4. The manner how Sir THOMAS MORE was installed in this high Office, how the king did extraordinarily grace him therein, and how

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 22. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 8. p. 44. He was made Chancellour on the 26th of Octob. 1529. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 14. p. 294.

(b) *Annon vel ipse verum exitus satis declarat, illum hac de causa Cancellarium esse factum, quo hac quasi mercede corruptus se ed trahi pateretur?* Regin. Poli pro Eccles. unir. defens. lib. 3. p. 65. fol. 1.

(c) Ibid. p. 64. fol. 2.

(d) Stapleton, in Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 172.

modest.

modestly notwithstanding he accepted thereof, is very remarkable. (a) For being lead betweene the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* through Westminster hall vp to the Starre chamber, and there honourably placed in the high Iudgement seate of Chancellour, the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was the chiefe peere and Lo: Threasurer of *England*, by the king's order spoke thus vnto the people, there with great applause and ioy gathered togeather: *The king's Ma.<sup>tie</sup> (which I pray God may proue happie and fortunate to the whole realme of England) hath raised to the most high dignitie of Chancellourshipp Sir THOMAS MORE, a man for his extraordinarie worth and sufficiencie well knowen to himself and the whole realme, for no other cause or earthlie respect, but for that he hath plainely perceaued all the guifts of nature and grace to be heaped vpon him, which either the people could desire, or himself wish for the discharge of so great an office. For the admirable wisedome, integritie & innocencie, ioyned with most pleasant facilitie of witt, that this man is endewed withall, haue bene sufficiently knowen to all English-men from his youth, and for these manie yeares also to the king's Maiestie himself. This hath the king abundantly found in manie and weightie affayres, which he hath happily dispatched both at home and abroad;*

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 22. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 173. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 8. p. 44.



*in diuerse offices, which he hath born, in most honourable embassages, which he hath undergone, & in his dailie counsell and aduises vpon all other occasions. He hath perceaued no man in his realme to be more wise in deliberating, more sincere in opening to him what he thought, nor more eloquent to adorne the matter, which he vttered. Wherefore because he saw in him such excellent endowments, and that of his especiall care he hath a particular desire that his kingdome and people might be gouerned with all equitie and iustice, integritie and wisdom: he of his owne most gracious disposition hath created this singular man Lo: Chancellour; that by his laudable performance of this office, his people may enioy peace and iustice, and honour also and fame may redounde to the whole kingdome. It may perhaps seeme to manie a strange and vnusuall matter, that this dignitie should be bestowed vpon a lay man, none of the Nobilitie, and one that hath wife and children; because heretofore none but singular learned prelates, or men of greatest Nobilitie, haue possessed this place; but what is wanting in these respects, the admirable vertues, the matchlesse guifts of witt & wisdom of this man, doth most plentifully recompence the same. For the king's Maiestie hath not regarded how great, but what a man he was; he hath not cast his eyes vpon the nobilitie of his bloud, but on the worth of his person; he hath respected his sufficiencie, not his profession; finally he would shew  
by*

by this his choyce, that he hath some rare subiects amongst the rowe of gentlemen and lay men, who deserue to manage the highest offices of the realme, which Bishops and Noble men thinke they only can deserue. The rarer therefore it was, so much both himself held it to be the more excellent, & to his people he thought it would be the more gratefull. Wherefore receaue this your Chancellour with ioyfull acclamations, at whose hands you may expect all happinesse and content.

SIR THOMAS MORE according to his wonted modestie was somewhat abashed at this the Dukes speach, in that it founded so much to his praise; but recollecting himself as that place and time would giue him leaue, he answered in this sorte: *Although, most noble Duke, and you right Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Lords, and worshipfull gentlemen, I knowe all these things, which the kings Maiestie, it seemeth, hath bene pleased should be spoken of me at this time and place, and your Grace hath with most eloquent wordes thus amplified, are as farre from me, as I could wish with all my hart they were in me for the better performance of so great a charge. And although this your speach hath caused in me greater feare then I can well expresse in words: yet this incomparable fauour of my dread Soueraigne, by which he sheweth how well, yea how highly he conceaueth of my weakenesse, hauing commanded that my meanness should be so greatly commended, cannot be but most acceptable vnto me:*

me: and I cannot choose but giue your most noble Grace exceeding thankes, that what his Maiestie hath willed you briefly to utter, you of the abundance of your loue vnto me, haue in a large and eloquent Oration dilated. As for myself I can take it no otherwise, but that his Maiesties incomparable fauour towards me, the good will and incredible propension of his Royall minde (wherewith he hath these manie yeares fauoured me continually) hath alone without anie desert of mine at all caused both this my new honour, and these your undeserued commendations of me. For who am I, or what is the house of my father, that the kings Highnesse should heape vpon me by such a perpetuall streame of affection these so high honours? I am farre lesse then anie the meanest of his benefitts bestowed on me; how can I then thinke my self worthie or fitt for this so peerelesse dignitie? I haue\* be drawen by force, as the king's Maiestie often professeth, to his Highnesse's seruice, to be a Courtier; but to take this dignitie vpon me, is most of all against my will; yet such is his Highnesses benignitie, such is his bountie, that he highly esteemeth the small dutiefulnesse of his meanest subiects; and seeketh still magnificently to recompence his seruants; not only such as deserue well, but euen such as haue but a desire to deserue well at his hands. In which number I haue alwaies wished myself to be reckoned, because I cannot challenge myself to be one of the former; which being so, you may all

\* Read bene.



perceauē with me how great a burden is layde vpon my backe, in that I must striue in some sorte with my diligence and dutie to corresponde with his royall beneuolence, and to be answerable to that great expectation, which he and you seeme to haue of me; wherefore those so high praises are by so much more grieuous vnto me, by how much I knowe the greater charge I haue to render myself wortheie of, and the fewer meanes I haue to make them goode. This weight is hardly sutable to my weake shouldiers; this honour is not correspondent to my poore deserts; it is a burden, not a glorie, a care, not a dignitie; the one therefore I must beare as manfully as I can, and discharge the other with as much dexteritie as I shalbe able. The earnest desire which I haue alwaies had and doe now acknowledge myself to haue, to satisfie by all meanes I can possible the most ample benefitts of his Highnesse, will greatly excite and ayde me to the diligent performance of all; which I trust also I shall be more able to doe, if I finde all your good wills and wishes both fauourable vnto me, and conformable to his royall munificence: because my serious endeauours to doe well ioyned with your fauourable acceptance will easily procure that whatsoever is performed by me, though it be in it self but small, yet will it seeme great and praise wortheie; For those things are alwaies atchieued happily, which are accepted willingly, and those succede fortunately, which  
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*are receaued by others courteously. As you therefore doe hope for great matters and the best at my hands, so though I dare not promise anie such yet do I promise truly and affectionately to performe the best I shall be able.*

When Sir THOMAS had spoken these wordes, turning his face to the high Iudgement seate of the Chancerie, he proceeded in this manner : *But when I looke vpon this seate, when I thinke how greate and what kinde of personages haue possessed this place before me, when I call to minde, who he was, that sate in it last of all, a man of what singular wisdom, of what notable experience, what a prosperous and fauourable fortune he had for a great space, and how at the last he had a most grieuous fall, and dyed inglorious : I haue cause enough by my predecessours example to thinke honour but slipperie, and this dignitie not so gratefull to me, as it may seeme to others ; for both is it a hard matter to follow with like paces or praises a man of such admirable witt, prudence, authoritie and splendour, to whome I may seeme but as the lighting of a candle, when the sunne is downe ; and also the sudden and vunexpected fall of so great a man as he was doth terribly putt me in minde that this honour ought not to please me too much, nor the lustre of this glistering seate dazel mine eyes. Wherefore I ascende this seate as a place full of labour and danger, voyde of all solide and true honour ; the which by how much the higher it is, by so*  
M *much*

much greater fall I am to feare, as well in respect of the verie nature of the thing it selfe, as because I am warned by this late fearefull example. And truly I might euen now at this verie first entrance stumble, yea faynte, but that his maiestie's most singular fauour towards me, and all your good wills, which your ioyfull countenance doth testifie in this most honourable assemblie, doth some what recreate and refresh me; otherwise this seate would be no more pleasing to me, then that sword was to Damocles, which hung ouer his head, tyed only by a hayre of a horse's tale, when he had store of delicate fare before him, seated in the chayre of state of Denis the Tirant of Sicilie; this therefore shalbe alwaies fresh in my minde, this will I haue still before mine eies, that this seate will be honourable, famous, and full of glorie vnto me, if I shall with care and diligence, fidelitie and wisdom endeauour to doe my dutie, and shall perswade myself, that the enioying thereof may chance to be but short & uncertaine; the one whereof my labour ought to perfourme; the other, my predecessour's example may easily teache me. All which being so, you may easily perceauue, what great pleasure I take in this high dignitie, or in this most noble Dukes praising of me.

All the world took notice now of Sir THOMAS's dignitie, whercof Erasmus writeth to Iohn Fabius Bishopp of Vienna thus: " Concerning the new increase of honour  
" lately



“ lately happened to THOMAS MORE, I should  
 “ easily make yon belieue it, if I should shew  
 “ you the letters of many famous men re-  
 “ ioycing with much alacritie, and congra-  
 “ tulating the king, the realme, himself, and  
 “ also me for MORE’S honour, in being made  
 “ Lo: Chancellour of *England* (a).

5. Now it was a comfortable thing for a-  
 nie man to beholde, how two great roomes  
 of *Westminster* hall were taken vp, one with  
 the sonne, the other with the father, which  
 hath as yet neuer bene heard of before or  
 since, the sonne to be Lo: Chancellour, and  
 the father *Sir Iohn More* to be one of the  
 ancientest Iudges of the king’s Bench, if not  
 the eldest of all; for now he was neare 90.  
 yeare olde. (b) Yea what a gratefull spectacle was  
 it, to see the sonne aske the father blessing  
 euerie day vpon his knees, before he sate in  
 his owne seate? a thing expressing rare hu-  
 militie, exemplar obedience, and submissiue  
 pietie.

Shortly beganne euery one to finde a great  
 alteration betweene the intolerable pride of  
 the precedent Chancellour *Wolsey*, who would  
 scarce looke or speake to anie, and into whose  
 onlie presence none could be admitted, vn-

(a) In Epist. farrag. lib. 27. *Harum rerum tibi facile fecero fi-  
 dem, si summorum virorum epistolas proferam, Regi, Regno, sibi, atq;  
 etiam mihi gestienti cum alacritate de suscepto à Moro Cancellarii  
 honore gratulantes.* See Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p.  
 172.

(b) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 1. p. 156. Hoddesdon;  
 Hist. of Sir Tho. More. chap. 9. p. 59.

lesse his fingars were tipped with golde; and on the other side this Chancelour, the poorer and the meaner the suppliant was, the more affably he would speake vnto, the more attentiuely he would hearken to his cause and with speedie tryall dispathe him: for which purpose he vsed commonly euerie afternoone to sitt in his open hall, so that if anie person whatsoeuer had anie sute vnto him, he might the more boldely come vnto him, and there open to him his complaints.

Which his open manner of extraordinarie fauour to all, (a) my vnclē *Dawncy*, his sonne in law seemed merrily on a time to finde faulte with, saying, that when Card: *Wolsey* was Chancellour, not only diuerse of his inner chamber, but such as were but his doorekeepers, got great gaines by him; and sith I haue married one of your daughters, I might of reason looke for some commoditie; but you are so readie to doe for euerie poore man, and keepe no doores shutt, that I can finde no gaines at all, which is to me a great discouragement, whereas else some for friendship, some for profit, some for kindred would gladly vse my furtherance to bring them to your presence; & now yff I should take anie thing of them, I should doe them great wrong, because they may freely preferre their causes to you them-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 23. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More. chap. 9. p. 55.

selues; which thing though it is in you, Sir, very commendable, yet to mee I finde it nothing profitable. which word Sir THOMAS answered thus; I do not mislike, sonne, that your conscience is so scrupulous; but there be manie other waies, wherein I may both doe yourself good and pleasure your friends; for some times by my worde I may stand your friend in steede, some time I may helpe him greatly by my letter, if he hath a Cause depending before me, I may heare him before another man at your intreatie; yf his Cause be not all the best, I may moue the parties to fall to some reasonable ende by arbitrament: but this one thing I assure thee on my fayth, that if the parties will at my hands call for iustice and equitie, then, although it were my father, whome I reuerence dearly, that stood on the one side, and the diuell, whome I hate extremely, were on the other side, his cause being iust, the diuel of me should haue his right.

What saying was this to expresse the loue to Iustice, which he alwaies bore, and his deedes shewed it so, that no malicious tounge euer could picke the least quarrell against him for the least toach of iniustice, as shall be more at large spoken of, when euerie light matter came to be sifted narrowly, after he fell from the king's fauour; and that he would for no respect of alliance digresse one iotte from equitie, well appeared by another sonne in law



of his my, (a) 'vnclē *Heron*; for when he hauing a Cause in the Chancerie before Sir THOMAS, and presuming to much on his fauour, because he euer shewed himself the most affectionate father to his children that was in the world; by reason whereof he would by no meanes be perswaded to agree to anie indifferent order, at last Sir THOMAS made a flatt decree against him; wherein he liuely expressed the practise of his former saying.

Now at his coming to this Office, he found the Court of Chancerie pestered and clogged with manie and tedious Causes, some hauing hung there almost twentic yeares. Wherefore to preuent the like, which was a great miserie for poore suiters, first (b) he caused *Mr. Crooke* chiefe of the Six Clarkes, to make a Dockett containing the whole number of all Iniunctions, as either in his time had already past or at that time depended in anie of the king's Courts at *Westminster*. Then bidding all the Iudges to dinner, he in the presence of them all, shewed sufficient reason why he had made so manie Injunctions, that they all confessed that they themselues in the like case would

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 24. Hoddefdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 9. p. 56. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 178.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 25. Hoddefdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 9. p. 57. The reason of his having acted thus proceeded from an information, that several of the Judges misliked the Injunctions, which he had granted whilst he was Chancellor, and not from the causes assign'd by our Author, which seem foreign to the purpose.

haue donne no lesse. Then he promised them besides, that if they themselves, to whome the reformation of the rigour of the law appertained would vpon reasonable considerations in their owne discretion (as he thought in conscience they were bound) mitigate and reforme the rigour of the lawe, there should then from him no Iniunctions be granted; to which when they refused to condescende; then, sayd he, for as much as yourselves, my Lords, driue me to this necessitie, you cannot hereafter blame me, if I seeke to relieue the poore people's iniuries. After this, he sayd to his sonne *Rooper* secretly, I perceauē, sonne, why they like not this; for they thinke that they may by a verdict of a Iurie cast of all scruple from themselves vpon the poore Iurie, which they account their chiefe defence. Wherefore I am constrayned to abide the aduenture of their blame.

(a) He tooke great paines to heare causes at home, as is sayd, arbitrating matters for both the parties good; & lastly he tooke order with all the attorneys of his Courte, that there should no *sub pœnas* goe out, whereof in generall he should not haue notice of the matter, with one of their hands vnto the Bill; and if it did beare a sufficient cause of complaint, then would he sett his hand to it, to haue it goe forward; if not, he would vtterly quash it, and denye a *sub pœna*. And when on a time one of the

(a) Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, cap. 9. p. 58.

attorneyes, whose name was Mr. Tubbe had brought vnto Sir THOMAS the summe of the cause of his Client, requested his hand vnto it, Sir THOMAS reading it, and finding it a matter friuolous, he added insteede of his owne hand thereto, these wordes: *A tale of a Tubbe* for which the attorney going away as he thought with Sir THOMAS his name vnto it, found when his Client read it, to be only a ieaſte.

6. Shortly after his entrie into the Chancellourſhipp, (a) the king againe importuned him to weighe and conſider his great matter, thinking that now he had ſo bound him vnto him, that he could not haue gaineſayde him; but he. valüing more the quiet of his conſcience, and the iuſtice of the cauſe, then anie prince's fauour in the world, fell downe vpon his knees before his Maieſtie and humbly beſought him to ſtande his gracious Soueraigne, as he had euer found him ſince his firſt entrance into his princelie ſeruiſe; adding that there was nothing in the world had bene ſo grieuous to his hart, as to thinke that he was not able (as he gladly would with the loſſe of one of his chiefeſt limmes) to finde anie thing in that matter, whereby with integritie of his conſcience he might ſerue his Grace to his contentment. And he alwaies bore in minde thoſe moſt godlie wordes, that his Highneſſe ſpoke vn-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 28. Hoddefdon's Hiſt. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 10. p. 64. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 14. p. 295.



to him, when he first admitted him into his royall seruice, the most uertuous lesson that euer prince gaue vnto his seruant, whereby he willed him. First to looke to God, and after God, to him; as, in good fayth, he sayd, he did, and would; or else might his Maiestie accounte him for his most vnworthie vassall; whereto the king courteously answered, that if he could not therein with his conscience serue him, he was contented to accept his seruice otherwaies; and vsing the aduise of other his learned Councell, whose consciences could well agree thereto, he would notwithstanding continue his accustomed fauour towards him, and neuer with that matter molest his conscience after: but how well he performed his promise, may be seene by the discourse following. And indeede there is no prince, be he bent to neuer so much wickednesse, but shall finde counsellours enough that will alwaies seeke to please his humours; but to finde anie one that will not agree to what that king is bent, to haue wrongfully brought to passe, these are verie rare, and therefore most to be admired,

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## C H A P. VII.

A View of some especiall and most remarkable virtues of Sir T. MORE in midst of his Honours.

1. *Incredible pouerty in so eminent a personage: signe of vnmacheable integrity.*
2. *Admirable zeale in cause of catholike religion against all heresie.*
3. *Cheerfull myrthe in all occasions ioined with grauity.*
4. *Solid deuotion, and reuerence in diuine seruice.*
5. *Patience & resignation in temporall losses.*
6. *Contempt of worldly honour declared in deposing of the dignity of Chauncellour.*
7. *A resolution to liue poorly, neuer like seen in a great states man.*
8. *With what deep ponderation he resigned vp that high honour.*

1. **A** Bout this time it (a) happened Sir Iohn More to fall sick of a surfeit of grapes, as I haue heard; who though he was verie olde, yet had he till then bene more lustie, then his yeares afforded him (b). In his sicknesse, his sonne, whome now he had seene Lo: Chancellour, often came & visited him, vsing manie comfortable words vnto him; and at his de-

(a) Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 10. p. 67.

(b) Ibid. Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 25.

parture out of this miserable world, with teares taking him about the necke, most louingly kissed and embraced him, commending his soule deuoutly to the merciefull hands of his Creatour and redeemer; so with a heauie hart departed from him, who left him now bettered with a verie small encrease of estate, because his chiefe house and lands at *Gubbins* in *Hartfordshire* his last wife enioyed, who outliued Sir THOMAS some ten yeares, and therefore Sir THOMAS neuer enioyed almost anie inheritance from his father; insomuch that he affirmed in his apologie, which he wrote about this time, that all his reuenues and pensions, except that which had bene granted by letters patents from the king of his mere liberalitie, to witt, the mannours of *Duckington*, *Frinckford*, and *Barlyparke* in *Oxfordshire*, all the rest (a), he saith, amount not to aboue Fiftie pound by the yeare, as those which he had from his father or by his wife, or by his owne purchase. Surely a rare saying, that one of the king's Counsell, who had gone through manie offices for almost twentie yeares should not be able to purchase one hundred pound land; when as now a priuate Attorney by his owne prac-

(a) Mr. Roper says, he was well assur'd, that all the Land he ever purchas'd before he was Lord Chancellour, was not above the value of xxxiij. Markes by the yeare, and after his debts payed he had not to his knowledge (his chaine excepted) left him in gold and silver the worth of one hundred pounds. Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 31. See also the words refer'd to in Sir Tho. More's Apology, quoted by Dr. Stapleton, in Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 8. p. 242. and Mr. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 11. p. 72.



tise will leaue his childe five hundred pound land of inheritance. Therefore in so great an officer this sheweth an admirable contempt of worldlie commodities, a bountiefull hand to spende liberally and abundantly vpon the poore, his owne kinsfolke and familie, the Church and vpon hospitallitie. And as for ready monie, he had not in all the world, when he gaue vp his office, aboue one hundred pound either in golde or siluer; which is as strange as the former. All which doth demonstrate his vprightnesse, his munificence, his singular perfections and his diuine wisdom. For what could millions of golde haue stoode him in steede, but to cumber his conscience, when he lost all from himselfe and his posteritie by reason of the malice of a spitefull queene, who pursued him and his to death, to their vtter temporall ouerthrowe, shewing perfectly that saying *non est malitia super malitia mulieris*. For the king could not by his fall promise himself anie great increase of goods, as he had gotten by the Cardinall's ouerthrow.

2. (a) Now the Bishops of *England* at this time considering with themselues, that for all his prince's fauour he was neither a rich man, nor in yearelie reuenues aduanced as his worthinesse deserued, & weighing with themselues what paines and trauailes he had taken in writing manie learned bookes for the defence of the true Catholike faith against manie heresies

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 27. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 9. p. 59.

secretely sown abroad in the realme, to whose pastorall charge the reformation of them principally appertained, there being not one Clergie man, that had matched his writings either in the greatnesse of the volumes, the soundnesse of the arguments, to conuince the aduersarie, or the paines taken to reduce them. They called therefore a Conuocation togeather, whether most of the Clergie came, where they concluded to offer vnto him the summe of foure thousand pound at the least, thereby to recompence in parte his trauailes there in sustayned. To the payment whereof euerie Bishop, Abbott, and the rest of the Clergie, after the rate of their abilities were liberall contributours, hoping that this summe would contente him. Wherefore his deare friends *Tunstall* Bishopp of *Durham* and *Clarke* B. of *Bath*, and as is supposed *Ueysey* of *Exeter* came to Sir THOMAS and spoke thus vnto him; how that they held themselues bound to consider him for his paynes taken and bestowed to discharge them in Gods quarrel; and albeit they could not according to his deserts requite him so worthily as they willingly would, but must referre that only to the goodnesse of God: yet for a small parte of recompence, in respect of his estate so vnequall to his worth they presented vnto him that summe in the name of the whole Conuocation, desiring him to take it in good parte. And though this were a bountiefull deede in respect of those prelates; yet little knew they Sir THOMAS his magnificent disposition, who  
answered

answered them in this manner : “ That like as  
“ it was no small comfort vnto him, that so  
“ wise and learned men accepted so well of  
“ his simple doings, for which he neuer pur-  
“ posed to receaue anie rewarde, but at the  
“ hands of God alone, to whome the thanks  
“ thereof was chiefly to be ascribed ; so gaue  
“ he most humble thanks vnto their Lord-  
“ ships all, for their so bountiefull & friendlie  
“ consideration ; but he purposed not to re-  
“ ceauce anie thing from them.” And when  
they with great importunitie pressed still vpon  
him, that few would haue supposed he could  
haue refused it, they could not for all that  
fasten anie whitt vpon him. Then they be-  
sought him that he would be content they  
might bestowe it vpon his wife and children.  
“ Not so, my Lords, quoth he ; I had rather  
“ see it cast all into the Thames then I or  
“ anie of mine should haue there of one pen-  
“ nie. For though your offer, my Lords, be  
“ indeede very honourable, yet sett I so much  
“ by my pleasure and so little by my profit,  
“ that I would not in good faith for much  
“ more monie haue lost the rest of so manie  
“ nights sleepe as was spent vpon the same :  
“ and yet for all this I could wish that vpon  
“ condition all heresies were suppressed, all my  
“ workes were burnt, and my labour vtterly  
“ lost.” Thus they were fayne to departe, and  
restore to euerie one his owne againe. By  
which wise and vertuous answer, euerie one  
may see that all his paines that he tooke, were  
only



only in respect of Gods honour, and not for either vaine glorie or any earthlie commoditie.

Yea he cared not what anie sayd of him, contemning the peoples dispraise as a blast of winde. For the heretikes hauing gotten it by the ende, that the Clergie had offered him a great summe of monie, and measuring other men by their owne couetous humours, (a) reported and wrote in pamphletts that he was bribed by the Clergie to write, whome he answered mildely by a flatt deniall, that he was not made richer by one pennie from the Clergie. Yet some of those heretikes had spent him somewhat; and besides he being *Bigamus*, twice married, could neuer hope for anie spirituall promotion.

(b) The water baylife of *London*, who had bene sometime his seruant, hearing (where he had bene at dinner) certaine marchants somewhat drunke with this new poison, liberally to rayle against Sir THOMAS, in that he was so bitter against *Lutherans*, waxed fore discontented therewith, knowing wel, that he little deserued anie euill reporte; wherefore he hastily came to Sir THOMAS and tolde him what he had heard: "and were I, Sir, sayd he, in  
" such fauour and authorite with my prince,  
" as you are, such men should not be suffer-

(a) See his Apology, cap. 10. & Stapleton Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 8. p. 242.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 13, 14. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 4. p. 24.

“ ed so villanously & falsely to misreporte and  
 “ slander me. Wherefore you may do well,  
 “ *Sir*, to call them before you, and to their  
 “ shame to punish them for their vnderferued  
 “ malice.” But Sir THOMAS smiling on him  
 sayd: “ why, Mr. Water bailife, would you  
 “ haue me punish those, by whome I reape  
 “ more benefitt then by all you that are my  
 “ friends: lett them in Gods name speake as  
 “ lewdley of me as they list, and shoote ne-  
 “ uer so many boltes at me, as long as they  
 “ hitt me not, what am I the worse: but if  
 “ they should once hitt me, then would it  
 “ not a little grieve me; howbeit I trust by  
 “ Gods grace and helpe, there shall none of  
 “ them all be able to touch me. I haue more  
 “ cause, I assure thee, to pitie them, then to  
 “ be angry with them.” Loe, to what heighth  
 of perfection had he now attained, that he was  
 neither allured by hopefull gaines, nor deterred  
 one iotte from his dutie by euill touns or  
 slaunders, always carrying one and the same  
 alacritie in all his crosses and aduersities!

3. (a) When that one of the house of the  
*Manners* by the king's fauour was come lately  
 to a noble dignitie, who had bene before a great  
 friend of Sir THOMAS; but perceauing that the  
 world beganne somewhat to frowne vpon him  
 for that he was not so forward as other men to  
 egge the king to the diuorce, and being desi-  
 rous to picke a quarrell against him sayd vnto

(a) Hoddefdon's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 137.

him:

him: my Lord, *Honores mutant Mores*. Sir THOMAS readily after his merrie fashion replyed: It is so indeede, my Lord, but *Mores* signifyeth in English, *manners* & not *more*; he was therewith so putt out of Countenance, that he wist not what to say.

(a) In like manner he wittily twitted another man, whome he had lent monie vnto: of whome he asking his due, bad him remember that he should die, God knoweth how soone, and then he should haue little vse of monie, adding the sentence in latine to please Sir THOMAS the more *Memento morieris*; where-to readily Sir THOMAS sayd: what say you *Sir*, me thinkes you putt yourself in minde of your dutie herein saying *Memento Morieris*, remember *More's* monie. Thus was he continually in his discourses full of wittie leasts, that though his countenance was alwaies graue, yet none could conuerse with him, but he would make them laugh exceedingly; tempering all serious matters with some wittie deuise or other.

(b) It happened on a time that a beggars little dog, which she had lost was presented for a Iewell to my Ladie *More*, and shee had kept it some sennight verie carefully; but at last the beggar had notice, where her dogg was, and presently she came to complaine to Sir THOMAS, as he was sitting in his hall, that his Ladie with held her dogg from her; presently my La-

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid. p. 138.



die was sent for, and the dogg brought with her; which Sir THOMAS taking in his hands, caused his wife, because she was the worthier person, to stand at the vpper ende of his hall, and the beggar at the nether ende, and sayd, that he sat there to doe euerie one iustice: he bad each of them call the dogg; which when they did, the dog went presently to the beggar, forsaking my Ladie. When he saw this, he bad my Ladie be contented, for it was none of hers; yet she repyning at the sentence of my Lo: Chancellour, agreed with the beggar, and gaue her a piece of golde, which would well haue bought three dogs, & so all parties were agreed; euerie one smiling to see his manner of enquiring out the truth.

(a) A certaine friend of his had taken great paines about a booke, which he would haue sett out, thinking well of his owne witt, which no other would praise. And because he would haue Sir THOMAS to ouer see it, before it was printed, he brought it to him to viewe; who perusing it, and finding no matter therein worth the printe, sayd with a graue countenance: yf it were in verse, it were more worth: vpon which wordes he went and turned it into verse, and after brought it againe to Sir THOMAS; who looking thereon, sayde soberly: yea marry, now it is somewhat; for now it is rime; before it was neither rime nor reason.

(a) Ibid.

And

And indeede (a) whatsoeuer ieast he brought forth, he neuer laughed at anie himselfe, but spoke alwaies so sadly that few could see by his looke, whether he spoke in earnest or in ieast. As talking with the messenger in his Dispute of his Dialogues, by an occasion they happened to speake of a dogs turde; and at that verie instant one of his men came to tell him, that dinner was readie, to whome he sayd, looke that there be better meate prouided for vs then that; who presently went forth and tolde my ladie, that his Lo: would haue better meate prouided for his dinner; which sore troubled all the house, till at lenght the cause of mistaking being knowen they all fell a laughing.

4. And although he neuer left his mirth in outward apparance, yet still did he vse the like mortifications which he was wont; yea he exercised actes of humilitie that he made most worldlie men to wonder at him. (b) On the sunnedaies euen when he was Lord Chancelour, he wore a surplice, and sounge with the singers at the high Masse and matins in his parish church of *Chelsey*; which the Duke of Norfolke on a time finding, sayd. *God bodie, God bodie*, my Lo: Chancelour a parish Clarke: you disgrace the king, and your office. Nay, sayd Sir THOMAS smilingly: your Grace may not thinke I dishonour my prince in my dutie-

(a) Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 13. p. 288.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 29. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 220. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 10. p. 66.

fulnesse to his Lord and ours; hauing in his minde that saying of *Dauid* in the like case dancing before the Arke of God, when his wife *Michol* laughed at him *Vilior fiam in oculis meis*: I will still thinke meanelly of my selfe, whatsoeuer others shall thinke of me.

(a) He often would also in publike processions carrie the crosse before the rest, thinking himself happie, if he could anie way shew loue and readinesse in almightie Gods seruice; and when manie counselled him in the long processions in Rogation weeke to vse a horse for hie dignitie and age, he would answer: it becomed not the seruant to follow his maister prauncing on cockhorse, his maister going on foote. (b) He neuer vndertooke anie businesse of importance, but he prepared himself first by Confession and receauing the blessed Sacrament deuoutely, trusting more of the grace of God deriued to vs by these holie Sacraments, then he did to his owne witt, iudgement and practise; yet euerie of them was in him extraordinary, so that he liued a most worthie life in all the course of his actions: neuer changed with anie prosperitie, nor dismayde with anie aduersitie.

5. As when his barnes of Corne & hay were burnt, he neuer altered his countenance, or shewed the least signe of sorrowe, only saying: *Fiat voluntas Dei*; he hath bestowed much

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 221.

(b) Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 41. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 91. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 221.



more vpon vs, and therefore may he take away what he pleaseth: (a) besides he wrote a most patient letter to my Ladie, which is thus: M.<sup>ris</sup> Alice, *I commende me vnto you: hauing heard by my sonne Heron, that ours & some of our neighbour's barnes with all the corne in them are burnt; although we may be sorrowfull for the losse of so much good corne, abstracting from Gods holie disposition: yet seing that it hath bene his diuine pleasure to suffer it, we ought not only patiently but also willingly to receaue his gentle rodd. God gaue vs all that we haue; and seing he hath taken parte of it away by this chance, his blessed will be donne: lett vs neuer murmure or grudge for this accident, but take it in good parte, and giue God thanks as well for aduersitie as for prosperitie. Perhaps this losse may be a greater benefitt of God then the gayne of so much would haue bene; for he knoweth what is most expedient for vs. Be therefore of good courage I pray thee, and taking all our familie with you, goe to the Church and giue God thanks as well for these things which he hath giuen vs, as for that he hath taken away, and for all that which he hath left vs, which he can easily encrease, when he seeth it fittest for vs; and if he pleaseth to take more from vs, his blessea will be fullfilled; lett it be diligently enquired out, what our neighbours haue lost, and*

(a) See Sir Tho. More's Works, p. 1419. & Stapleton. Vir. Tho. Mori, cap. 8. p. 244, 245.

desire then not to be sadde for anie thing, for I will not see anie of them endamaged by anie mischance of my house, although I should thereby not leaue myself so much as one spoone. I pray thee bee chearefull with all my children and familie. Also take counsell of our friends, how Corne is to be provided for that which is needefull for you, and for seede corne this next yeare, if perhaps it be fitt that we sowe anie felde ourselues: but whether we do so or no; I do not thinke it expedient, presently to giue ouer all care of husbandrie and lett out our farme to others, untill we haue better and at more leasure considered of it: yet if we haue more workemen in our house, then we haue neede of, such may be dismissed, if they can be commodiously placed with other maisters; but I will not suffer anie to be sent away to runne at randon without a place to dwell in. At my retorne to the king, I see things go so, as it is likelie I shall stay with him a good while; yet because of this misfortune, perhaps I shall gett leaue to come and see you some time this next weeke, when as we will conferre more at leasure about these our housholde affaires. Farewell, from the Court. At Woodstock 13. Sept. 1539. But marke how God rewarded this his patience: for it was in October next that he was made Lo: Chancellour; by which office he might easily haue purchased manie faire houses, if his minde had aymed at worldlie riches, and not rather thirsted after heauenlie rewards. Some haue

haue not sticke to say that if Sir THOMAS had bene so happie as to haue dyed of his naturall death about this time he had bene a very fortunate man, liuing and dying in all mens fauour in the highest iudgements of the world, and prosperous also to his posteritie; for he had left them a fayre and great inheritance, especially by the king's gracious giift. But in my minde they are all carnally wise that affirme this, and no way haue tasted of heauenlie wisdome. For the last Scene of this Tragedie is the best and not to be wished to haue bene omitted for all the land king *Henry* enioyed, though you adde the abbeylands and all, after which now his singars endes beganne to itche: For that Card. *Wolfsey* had shewed already a president thereof, by getting leaue of the Pope, to dissolue certaine small Abbyes for the building and maintenance of that great College of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, which for that cause, as I thinke, is *S. Peter's* worke, and lieth still vnfinished.

6. Though in all his life time Sir THOMAS had shewed liuelie examples of manie excellent vertues, as pietie, zeale of God's honour, wisdome, Iustice, liberalitie, contempt of the world, riches, yea what not (a)? yet his most heroicall vertues towards his ende he hath expressed more liuely and exactly, as his magnanimitie, contempt of honours, of wife, children, possessions, life it selfe, and whatsoeuer

(a) Reg. Poli pro Eccles. Unit. defens. lib. 3. p. 65, 66.



can be of vs desired, and in steede thereof hath chosen disgraces, extreame aduersities, imprisonment, losse of dignities, goods and inheritance, and hath taken vp his Crosse and followed Christ in shedding of his blood to his honour: *no champion is crowned till he hath gotten the victorie.* And beholde he most gloriously triumpheth ouer the flesh by forsaking his life and leauing it; the world, by despising it, and the diuell by resisting manfully all his temptations.

(a) When Sir THOMAS had behaued himselfe in his office of the Chancelour-shipp for the space of two yeare and a halfe so wisely that none could mende his doings, so vprightly that none could take exception against him or his iust proceedings, and so dexterously that neuer anie man did before or since that which he did. For he had taken such order for the dispatching of all mens Causes, that (b) on a time sitting as Iudge there, and hauing finished one cause, he called for the next to be heard; whereto was answered that there was not one Cause more depending. This he caused to be sett downe vpon recorde; whereas at this day there are little fewer then a thousand, if not more; whereof some lye in the suddes by the space of diuerse yeares.

When (as I say) Sir THOMAS had deserued high commendations of euerie one (c), and

(a) Hoddesdon's Life of Sir Tho. More, chap. 10. p. 67.

(b) Ibid. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 179.

(c) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 29. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 9. p. 65.

now perceaued that the king was fully determined to proceede to the vnfortunate marriage of *Anne Bullen*, and for that cause a Parle-ment was called, wherein Sir THOMAS being the chiefe Officer of the higher house, was with diuerse Bishops and Noble men commaunded by the king, to goe downe to the lower house to shew vnto them, both what manie vniuersities beyond the seas, & *Oxford* and *Cambridge* at home had donne in that behalfe, with their publike zeales testifying the same. All which matters at the king's commaunde he opened to the Lower house, not shewing his minde therein; yet doubting (as good cause he had) least further attempes should after follow, which contrarie to his conscience by reason of his office, he was likelie to be putt vnto; he made great suite to the Duke of Norfolke his singular good friend, that he would be a meanes to the king that he might be discharged, with his Maiesties fauour of the Chancellourshipp; wherein for certaine infirmities of his bodie he pretended himself vn-able anie longer to serue. (a) The Duke being often thereto by Sir THOMAS sollicitated, at length obtayned of the king, when at a time conuenient by his Maiestie appointed Sir THOMAS repaired to the king to yeelede vp vnto him the great Seale of *England*; which his Maiestie courteously receaued at his hands with

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 29. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 11. p. 69.

greate praise & thanks for his worthie seruice in that office, at which time it pleased his highnesse to say thus vnto him : " That for the " seruice he had hitherto done vnto him, in " anie suite that he should hereafter haue vnto him, that either should concerne Sir THOMAS his honour (that very word it liked his Highnesse to vse vnto him) " or that should " appertaine to his profitt, he should not fayle " to finde him a godd & gracious Lord." But how true these wordes proued, lett others be Iudges, when the king not only not bestowed vpon him the value of one pennie, but tooke from him and his posteritie all that euer he had, either giuen by himselfe, or left him by his father, or purchased by himselfe. (a) The next morning being holieday, few yet knowing what had bene donne, he went to *Chelsey* church with my Ladie and his children and familie : & after masse was donne, because it was a custome that one of my Lord's gentlemen, should then goe to my Ladie's pewe, and tell her, my Lord was gone before, then did he himselfe come, and making vnto her a courtesie, with his cappe in his hand, & sayd : may it please your Ladieshipp to come forth now my Lo: is gone, whereto she imagining it to be but one of his ieastes, as he vsed manie vnto her, he sadly affirmed vnto her, that it was true; for he had resigned vp his office,

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 31. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 13. p. 285. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 11. p. 72.



and the king had graciously accepted it. This was the way that he thought fittest to breake this matter vnto his wife; who yet was full sorie to heare it; & it may be she spoke then those wordes, which I haue rehearsed before: *Tilli vally; what will you doe* Mr. MORE: *will you sitt and make goslings in the ashes: it is better to rule then to be ruled.* But to requite her braue minde, he beganne to finde fault with her dressing, for he saw a greate fault about her; for which she chiding her daughters that none of them could espye it, they still saying they could finde none; Sir THOMAS merrily sayd: *Doe you not perceauie that your mothers nose standeth somewhat awry?* at which wordes she stept away from him in a rage. All which he did to make her thinke the lesse of her decay of honour, which else would haue troubled her fore.

7. Shortly after this he called all his seruants together, manie of whome were Gentlemen of good sorte and fashion, & tolde them, that he could not maintaine them as he gladly would, and therefore demaunded them, what course of life they would betake themselves to; and if they purposed to serue any Noble man, he would vndertake to place them to their contentment, who with eyes full of teares affirmed, that they had rather serue him for nothing, then most men for a great stpende: but when to this he would not agree (a),

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 30. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 11. p. 70.

he

he settled them all in places most fitt for their turnes, either with Bishops or Noblemen. His bardge he gaue to my Lo: *Audley*, who succeeded him in his office, and with it his eight watermen; His foole *Patison* he gaue to the Lo: Mayor of *London*, vpon this condition, that he should euerie yeare wayte vpon him that should haue that office. (a) After this he called before him all his Children, and asking their aduise, how he might now (in the decay of his abilitie so empaired by the surrender of his office, that he could not hereafter as he had donne and gladly wou'd) beare out the whole charges of them all himselve (for all his Children with their children had hither to dwelt with him) for that they could not be able to continue togeather as he could with they should. When he saw them all silent and none to shew him their opinion therein; " then will I, sayd he, shew vnto you my  
 " minde: I haue bene brought vp at *Oxford*,  
 " at an Inne of Chancerie, at *Lincolnes-Inne*,  
 " and in the king's Courte, from the lowest  
 " degree to the highest; and yet haue I in  
 " ycarelie reuenues at this present little left  
 " me aboue a hundred pound by the yeare:  
 " so that now if we looke to liue togeather,  
 " we must be content to be Contributours  
 " togeather. But my consell is, that we fall  
 " not to the lowest fare first; we will not  
 " therefore descend to *Oxford*-fare, nor to the  
 " fare of New-Inne; but we will beginne with  
 " *Lincolnes* Inne dyett, where manie right

(a) Ibid

" wor-

“ worshippfull men of great accounte and  
“ good yeares do liue fullwell; which if we  
“ finde ourselues after the first yeare not able to  
“ maintayne, then will we the next yeare come  
“ downe to *Oxford* fare, where manie great  
“ learned and ancient Fathers & Doctours are  
“ continually conuersant; which if our purses  
“ stretch not to maintaine neither, then may  
“ we after with bag and wallett go a beg-  
“ ging togeather, hoping that for pittie some  
“ good folkes will giue vs their charitie, and  
“ at euerie mans doore to sing a *Salve regina*;  
“ whereby wee shall still keepe companie  
“ and be merrie togeather.” O worthie re-  
solution! see how he expresseth his loue to-  
wards his Children, but more towards God,  
taking patiently whatsoever might befall him.  
And he that prouideth for the worst, will  
the better be prepared to endure lesser Crof-  
ses. But what an admirable thing is this,  
that (a) whereas he was by the king taken  
into his Maiestie’s seruice from a verie wor-  
shippfull liuing, as I haue sayd, four hundred  
pounds by the yeare, to deale in the greatest  
and weightiest Causes that concerned his High-  
nesse and the realme, he had spent with paine-  
full cares, trauels & troubles as well beyond  
the seas, as with in this kingdome, in effect  
the whole substance of his life; yet with all  
the gayne he gott thereby (being neuer him-  
self a wastefull spender) he was not now able  
after the resignement of his offices, to finde

(a) Mr. Roper’s Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 31. Hoddef-  
don’s Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 11. p. 71. for



for himself and those that necessarily belonged vnto him, sufficient meate, drinke, fewell, apparrell and such needefull charges; all the lands, which he euer purchased being, as my vncle *Rooper* well knew, not aboue the value of twentie markes by the yeare, and after his debts payde, he had not of my vncle's owne knowledge (his Chayne excepted) in golde and siluer left him the worth of one hundred pounds. Wherefore his Children went to their owne liuings, all but my vncle *Rooper* & my aunte, who liued in the house next vnto him.

8. And how really he had desired himselfe to resigne vp his place of Chancellourshipp, partely for the aboue mentioned consideration, and partely also for his owne content & quiett enioying of himself, may well appeare in that he so much liked and highly commended the like deede in *William Warrham* that worthie Archbishopp of *Canterburie* immediately before Card. *Wolsey* (a); as by this letter vnto him is to be seene: *I haue alwaies esteemed your most reuerend Fatherhood happie in your courses, not only when you executed with great renowne the office of Chancellourshipp; but also more happie now, when being ridde of that great care you haue betaken yourself to a most wisbed quiettnesse, the better to liue to yourself, and to serue God more easily; such a quiettnesse I say that is not*

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 7. p. 236.

only more pleasing then all these troublesome businesses, but also more honourable farre in my iudgement, then all those honours which you then enioyed. For manie men, and amongst those some wicked men also may oftentimes be raised to great offices: but when you had that high Office of Chancellourshipp, which, as all others of the like kinde are, is of that nature, that the more authoritie and power one hath whilst he doth beare it, the more slaunders he is subiect vnto hauing left it, to resigne such an office voluntarily (which yet your Fatherhood could scarce gett leaue to doe with all the meanes you could vse) none but a modest minded man would, nor anie but a guiltlesse man darre, doe. Wherefore manie, and amongst them myself doe applaude and admire this your acte, which proceeded from a minde I knowe not whether more modest in that you would willingly forsake so magnificent a place, or more heroicall in that you could contemne it, or more innocent in that you feared not to depose yourself from it, but surely most excellent and prudent it was to do so; for which your rare deede I cannot utter vnto you how I reioyce for your sake, and how much I congratulate you for it, seing your Fatherhood to enioye so honourable a fame, and to haue obtayned so rare a glorie, by sequestering yourself farre from all worldlie businesses, from all tumult of Causes, and to bestowe the rest of your daies, with a peaceable conscience for all your life past, in a quiett calme.

*calmenesse, giuing your selfe wholly to your booke and to true Christian philosophie; which pleasing and contented state of yours, my owne miserie causeth me daily more and more to thinke of; who although I haue no businesse worth the talking of (and yet he was then one of the King's priuie Counsell, Threasurer of the exchequer and employed in manie embassages) yet because weake forces are easily oppressed with small matters, I am so troubled daily with businesse, that I haue not as much as once leasure to visite your Fatherhood, or to excuse myself therefore by letter, and scarcely was I able to write this vnto you, by which I was to commend this my little booke of Vtopia vnto your most reuerende Fatherhood, which an Antwerpian friend of mine (loue swaying his iudgement) hath thought fitt to be published, and hath putt it in printe without my priuitie, being rather hudled vp then polished, which I was emboldened to sende to you, though it be unworthie of your learning, experience and dignitie, relying on your courteous nature, which is wont to conser to the best euerie man's endeauoures, also trusting in your tryed loue towards me, by which I hope, though the worke itself should not like you, that yet for the authors sake you will fauour it. Farewell most honourable prelate.*

A little after this time (a) he wrote thus to Erasmus: *I haue a good while expected, if*

(a) Inter Epist. Erasmi. lib. 27. & quoted by Dr. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 180.



anie man could accuse me of anie thing, since the deposing myself of the Chancellourshipp: and as yet no man hath come forth to complaine of anie my iniustice: either I haue bene so innocent, or so craftie, that my aduersaries must needes suffer me to glorie in the one, if they cannot abide I should do so in the other. Tea this the king's maiestie also as well in priuate discourse often, as also twice in publike hath witnessed, for that (which shamefastnesse will not suffer me to speake of myself) he commaunded the most noble Duke of Norfolke high Threasurer of England, when my successour an excellent man was settled in my place to testifys this to all the assemblie, that he had hardly at my earnest intreatie suffered me to lett the office goe; and not content with that singular fauour in my behalfe he caused the same againe to be spoken of in his owne presence when in the audience of a publike meeting of the Nobilitie and people my successour recited his first speech, as the custome is, in the assemblie of all the Estates, which we call the Parlement.

(a) He writeth also to Erasmus in another letter thus. That which I haue from a childe vnto this day almost continually wished (my most deare Desiderius) that being freed from the troublesome businesses of publike affayres, I might liue some while only to God and myselfe, I haue now by the especiall grace of almightie

(a) InterEpist. Erasmi, lib. 27. and cited by Dr. Stapleton, cap. 7. p. 231.

God, and the fauour of my most indulgent prince, obtayned. And then hauing spoken somewhat of the weakenesse of his health, he goes on, saying: *Hauing these things often in my head, either that I was to depose myself of the office, or that I should fayle in the performance of my dutie therein, seing that I could not dispatche those affaires, but that I must endanger my life, and so dispatche myself of the office howsoeuer, I purposed at the last to forgoe the one rather then both. Wherefore because I would as well be carefull of the publike wellfare as of mine owne health, I was an earnest suiter to my Prince, and at last haue obtayned by his singular courtesie, that because I beganne to grow wearie and euen readie to lye vnder my burden I might be ridde of that though a most honourable office, where-to his fauour had raised me aboue all my deserving, as it was wholly without my seeking. I beseeche therefore all the Saints in heauen, that by their intercession almightie God would recompence this most fauourable affection of the King's towards me, and that he would giue me grace to spend the rest of my age in his seruice, profitably and not idely or vainely, affording me health of bodie, that I may be the better able to take paines.*

(a) And to Cochleus he writeth thus: *I haue bene lately sore sicke for some moneths together, not so much to the sight of others, as to mine owne feeling, which infirmitie I can scarce*

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 7. p. 232.

shake

shake of now, when I haue left of my office ; for then I could not exercise my function of Chancellour, vnlesse I should endanger my health daily. The care of my recouerie, but especially the due respect I had not to hinder publike iustice, moued me thereto, which I thought I should greatly hinder, if being sicklie I should be constrayned to vndertake busi- nesses as I did when I was stronger. That leasure, which the fauourable benignitie of my most gracious prince hath vouchsafed to grant me, I haue purposed to dedicate wholly to my studie and the honour of God.

And as for his contempt of worldlie honour he writeth (a) thus to Erasmus : You will not belieue how vnwillingly I vndertake embassages ; neither can there be anie thing more displeasing vnto me then the function of an Embassadour. Of his *Vtopia* he writeth, that he iudged the booke no better worthie, then to lye alwaies hidden in his owne iland, or else to be consecrated to Vulcan. Of his poetrie he sayth : my epigrammes neuer, pleased my minde, as you well knowe, my Erasmus, and if other men had not better liked them, then my self, they should neuer have bene putt out in printe.

(a) In farrag. 7, & 2. See Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 7. p. 238.



## C H A P. VIII.

The first Occasion and beginning of Sir THOMAS his troubles.

1. *How he prepared himself to suffer for Christ, as yf he foresaw he should so do.*
2. *A wor-thie lesson for statesmengiuen by Sir Thomas More, to Cromwell.*
3. *The unfortunate marriage of Queen Anne Bolain.*
4. *Sir Tho. More refuseth to be present at Queen Annes coronation; the beginning of hers, and the Kings indignation.*
5. *The holy Nunne of Canterbury first occasion of calling Sir Thom. More into Question about Q. Anne.*
6. *Diuers accusations procured against Sir T. More, all easily auoided by his innocente life.*
7. *His first examination before the Kings deputies.*
8. *His mery hart and braue resolution after this examination.*

**T**HE yeare immediately before his troubles, he spent most in spirituall exercises, and in writing of bookes against heretikes: of whome in another (a) letter he speaketh thus:

(a) Inter Epist. Erasmi, quoted by Dr. Stapleton. cap. 3. p. 181. *Quod in epitaphio profiteor hareticis me fuisse molestum, hoc ambitiose feci. Nam omnino sic illud hominum genus odi, ut illis ni respiscant tam inuisus esse velim, quam cui maxime; quippe quos indies magis ac magis exsuper tales, ut mundo ab illis vehementer metuum.*

That

That which I professe in my epitaphe, that I haue bene troublesome to heretikes, I haue donne it with a little ambition; for I so hate these kinde of men, that I would be their sorest enemy that possible they could haue, if they will not repente; for I find them such men, and so to encrease euerie day, that I euen greatly feare the world will be vndonne by them. Yet for all his hatred to them, no heretike suffered death whilst he was Lo: Chancellour, as *Erasmus* confesseth in the aboue mentioned letter. And indeede it seemeth he would not haue them suffer death, because he writeth to that effect in the lawes of his *Vtopia*. Writing another time to *Cochlie* (a) he sayth: *I would to God, my Cochlie, I had such skill in holie Scriptures and Diuinitie, that I were able to write against these plagues of the world fruitfully and with good effect.* (b) *Erasmus* also confesseth that he hated those seditious opinions, with the which the world was then cruelly shaken.

(c) He would often talke with his wife and Children of the exceeding ioyes in heauen, and terrible paines of hell, of the liues of holie Martyrs, what torments they endured for the loue of God, of their maruelous patience &

(a) Inter Epist. Cochlezi, and quoted by Dr. Stapleton, Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 222.

(b) Quid ille seditiosa dogmata, quibus nunc misere conuenitur orbis. In farrag. Epist. lib. 27. ad Jo. Fabium Episc. Viennensem. See Stapleton, Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 222.

(c) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 31. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More. chap. 11. p. 73.

deathes, which they suffered most willingly rather then they would offende Gods diuine Maiestie; and what an honourable thing it was for the loue of our Lord JESUS CHRIST to abide imprisonment, losse of goods, lands, and life; adding also what a comfort it would be to him, if he might finde that his wife and children would encourage him to dye in a good cause; for it would cause him for ioye thereof merrily to runne to death; besides, as prophecying of his future troubles, he would tell them what miseries might chance to happen vnto him. With which vertuous discourses he had so encouraged them, that when these things after fell vpon him indeede, their miserie seemed the more tolerable vnto them, (a) *because Shafts foreseene hurt not so much.*

2. Within a while after the resigning of his Office, (b) *Mr. Cromewell* (now highly in the King's fauour) came of a message from the king to Sir THOMAS; wherein when they had thoroughly talked togeather, before his going away Sir THOMAS sayd vnto him: "*Mr. Cromewell*; you are entred into the seruice of a  
" most noble, wise, and liberal Prince; yf you  
" will followe my poor aduise, you shall in  
" your counsell giuing to his Maiestie euer tell  
" him what he ought to doe, but neuer what  
" he is able to doe; so shall you shew your-

(a) *Quia spicula prouisa minus laedunt.* Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 32. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 11. p. 74.

(b) Mr. Roper and Mr. Hoddesdon name him Sir Thomas Cromwell.

" self



“ self a true and faithfull seruant, and a right  
“ worthie counsellour; for yf a lyon knew  
“ his owne strength, hard were it for anie man  
“ to rule him.” But *Cromewell* neuer learned  
this lesson; for he euer gaue that counsell to  
his prince, which he thought would best please  
him, and not what was lawfull. For it was  
he that was the mischieuous instrument of king  
*Henry* to pull downe all abbies and religious  
houses, yea to ruinate religion vtterly; where-  
by you may see the difference betweene king  
*Henry* a iust prince, whilst he followed Sir  
THOMAS MORE’s counsell, and after a cruell  
tyrant and bloudsucker, when he practised *Tho-  
mas Cromewells* plotts and deuises; and also  
we may see the issue of both these counsellours,  
the one hauing gotten great fame for his iust  
deserts, the other hauing purchased eternall in-  
fame, yea the ouerthrow of himself and his  
familie. For though he attayned to be Lord  
*Cromewell*, yea afterwards Earle of *Essex*, yet  
his honour and life was soone taken away from  
him most iustly; and now there is scarce anie  
of his posteritie left, his lands are all solde, yea  
such was his grandchild’s miserie, that he com-  
playned verie lamentably to some gentlemen  
that he had not bread to putt into his mouth;  
whereas Sir THOMAS MORE’s great grandchil-  
dren, though they liue not in great abundance,  
yet haue they, God be blessed, sufficient to  
maintaine the estate of honest Gentlemen;  
which God of his mercie continue.

3. Now had King *Henry* also chosen an Archbishop of *Canterbury* for his owne tooth, promoted by the King, as I haue heard say, at a beare-bayting, soone after *Warham's* death; his name was *Thomas Cranmer*, *Anne Bullen's* Chaplaine, a man wholly bent to fullfill the king's pleasure in all things: By his counsell *Q. Marie* was after disinherited, and all men were sworne to the succession of *Q. Anne's* issue, and to renounce the Pope's authoritie, by acknowledging king *Henry* and his Successours supreme head of the church of *England*.

(a) Vnto this man there was Commission granted vnder the great Seale to determine the marriage, who had a conscience large enough to putt in execution, what the king did fancie; & sitting at *S. Albans* about this new match, all things were easily accorded. The king pretended that he could gett no iustice at the Pope's hands; wherefore from thenceforth he sequestred himself and his kingdom from the Sea of *Rome* (b), marrying *Q. Anne* in priuate; for she was not sollemne-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 32. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 11. p. 74.

(b) *Mense siquidem Octobri anni 1532. Rex Annam Boleniam clanculum in uxorem ducit, paucis consciis. Neque usq; ad Pascha proximum solenniter celebrata ha infausa nuptia fuere. Anno igitur 1533. 12. Aprilis Anna regina per edictum pronuntiatur, & 5. Julii anni ejusdem Regina Catharina Arthuri principis vidua per edictum etiam declaratur. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 15. p. 298.*

ly carried through *London*, before she was great with childe of *Q. Elizabeth*.

Thus euerie man may see the cause of our breach from *Rome*, the vnion whereof had continued more then nine hundred yeares, euer since holie Pope *Gregorie* first conuerted vs, & would haue remayned God knowes how long, if that either king *Henry* would not haue cast his liking vpon a wanton damsell, or else the Pope's conscience could haue stretched to dispense with a king to haue two wiues together; for the king still would praise his former wife, and tearme her a vertuous woman; only forsooth scruple of conscience was pretended; but he could not see anie cause of scruple in breaking his promise vpon his appeale; whereby he professed he would stay vntill the determination of a generall Counsell, to which from the Pope he had already appealed.

As soone as Sir THOMAS had heard that king *Henry* was married (*a*), he sayd to my vncle *Roper*: God giue grace, sonne, that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oathes. My vncle then, although he saw likelihood thereof, yet fearing alwaies that that would fall out, which Sir THOMAS foretolde, waxed for these wordes verie sore grieved. For he had manie times had experience, that he spoke prophetically of diuerse things.

(*a*) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 32. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 11. p. 75.



4. Before that Q. *Anne* should be carried in triumphe from the Tower to *Westminster* through the streetes of *London*, with manie pagents & sumptuous shewes, which proued after but a may-game (a), Sir THOMAS receaued a letter from three greate Bishops, *Durham, Winchester, & Bath*, requesting him both to keepe them companie to her Coronation, and also to take twentie pounds, which by the bearer thereof they had sent him, to buy him a gowne; the money he thankfully receaued; yet stayde he still at home, and at their next meeting, he sayd merrily thus vnto them. “ In the letter, my Lords, which you  
 “ lately sent me, you requested two things of  
 “ me; the one whereof I was well content  
 “ to graunt you, that the other I might the  
 “ bolder denye; and like as the one, because  
 “ I tooke you for no beggars, and my selfe  
 “ I knew to be no rich man, I thought the  
 “ rather to fullfill: so the other putt me in  
 “ minde of an Emperour, that ordained a law,  
 “ that whosoever had committed a certaine of-  
 “ fence, which now I remember not, except  
 “ she were a virgin, should suffer death for it;  
 “ such reuerence had he to yirginitie; now it  
 “ happened that the first that offended in that  
 “ crime, was a virgin; which the Emperour  
 “ hearing of was in a perplexitie, as he that by  
 “ some example would fayne haue that law  
 “ putt in execution. Wherevpon when his

(a) Ibid.

“ coun-

“ counsell had sitt long debating this case very  
“ sollemnely, suddenly rose there vp one plaine  
“ man of the Counsell, and sayd : why make  
“ you so much adoe, my lords, about so small  
“ a matter? lett her be deflowred, and after  
“ deuoured. So though your Lordshippes haue  
“ in the matter of this marriage hitherto kept  
“ your selues virgins, yet take heede, you  
“ keep your virginities still ; for some there  
“ be, that by procuring your Lordshippes first  
“ to be present at the Coronation, next to  
“ preache for the setting forth thereof, &  
“ finally to write bookes in defence of it,  
“ are desirous to deflowre you ; and when  
“ they haue deflowred you, they will not  
“ fayle soone after to deuoure you. As for  
“ myself, it lyeth not in my power, but that  
“ they may deuoure me, but God being my  
“ good Lord, I will prouide so that they shall  
“ neuer deflower me. In which speech he  
“ most liuely prophecied both of all the Bi-  
“ shoppes fall to Schisme, which after befell,  
“ and his owne death, which followed not  
“ long after.”

These wordes of his it is probable that they  
came to *Q. Anne's* eares, who as impatient  
as an *Herodias*, not abiding that anie in the  
realme should finde fault with her greate  
catche, she incensed King *Henrie* more against  
SIR THOMAS MORE then anie other man ; And  
a moneth after this sollemnitie was not past,  
but she gott him to be sent prisonner to the  
Tower,

Tower, little knowing that her Fortune's wheele would soone turne after.

(a) When the king perceaued he could not winne Sir THOMAS to the bent of his lust by no manner of benefitts, then loe the fayre sunshine day of his fauours became ouercast, and there ensued a terrible storme, he now going about by terrours and threatens to driue him to consent vnto it: full little imagining that he was a steadie rocke, against which noe waues of his rage could preuaile.

(b) But marke how Sir THOMAS prepared himself for this valiant combatt; hauing giuen ouer his office of Chancellourshipp: he neuer busied himself in State-matters anie more, but gaue himself wholly, during that yeare, which was betweene that and his troubles, not only to confute heretikes, as I haue sayd, but also addicted himselfe to great acts of mortification, prayer and pietie; he lessened his familie, placing his men in other seruices; he sould his houlding stuffe to the value of one hundred pounds; he disposed his Children into their owne houses. As he lay by his wife's side, manie nights he slept not, forethinking the worst that could happen vnto him; and by his praiers and teares he ouercame the frayltie of his flesh, which, as he confesseth of himself, could not endure a fillipp. He hired a pursuant to come suddenly to his house, when he was one time at

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 34. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 12. p. 177.

(b) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 15. p. 303, 304.

dinner,



dinner, and knocking hastily at his doore, to warne him, the next day to appeare before the Commissioners, to arme his familie the better to future calamitie; imitating herein the acte of *S. Iohn* the Almes-giuer, who hired a man to come to him at meales, to tell him, that his graue was not yet finished and that he should take order for it; for the hower of death was vncertaine.

5. (a) But see how the beginning of this trouble grew first by occasion of a certaine Nunne, called *Elizabeth Berton*, dwelling in *Canterburie*; who for her vertue and holinesse was not a little sett by amongst the common people; vnto whome for that cause manie religious persons, Doctours of Diuinitie, and diuerse lay men of good worshipp vsed to resorte; she affirming to them constantly, that she had reuelations oftentimes from God, charging her to giue the king warning of his wicked life, and of his abusing of the sword, and authoritie committed from almightie God vnto him. She moreouer knowing that my Lo: of *Rocheſter* Bishopp *Fisher* was of a singular and rare vertuous life, and of admirable learning repaired to *Rocheſter*, and there disclosed vnto him all her reuelations, desiring his aduise and counsell

(a) Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 34. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 12. p. 79. Stapleton by mistake names her *Anne Berton*, and says Sir Tho. More was appointed by the King to examine her, and was charg'd with holding private conferences with her after the examination was over, and writing and receiving letters to her and from her. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 15. p. 297. seq.

therein;

therein; which the holie Bishopp perceauing might well stande with the lawes of God, and his holie Church, aduised her (as she before had warning to doe, and intended it) to goe to the king herselfe and lett him vnderstande all the circumstances thereof; which she perfourmed stoutely, telling him all the (a) reuelations, and so returned to her cloyster againe.

(b) In a short space after he making a iourney to the Nunnes of *Sion*, by meanes of one Fa: *Reynold* a priest of that house, there she happened to enter into talke with Sir THOMAS MORE concerning such secrets as had bene reuealed vnto her, some parte thereof touching deeply the matter of the King's supremacie, which shortly after this followed, and about the vnlawfullnesse of the king's marriage. Sir THOMAS though he might well at that time without danger of anie lawe, (of which there was then none) freely talke with her therein, yet notwithstanding he demeaned himself so discretely in all his talke with her, that he deserued no blame, but rather great commendations, as it was proued after most euidently, when it was fore layd to his charge.

(a) These reuelations, when she came to dye, she own'd to be counterfeit predictions, and beg'd God and the King's pardon for what she had done. See her Speech at her execution in Mr. Collier's Ecclesi. Hist. vol. 2. p. 87.

(b) Mr. Woper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 34. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 12. p. 79.

6. (a) After the diuorce was pronounced, there was sett out a booke by authoritie from the Councell, which layde downe the reasons why this diuorce was donne; wherein amongst other matters it was sayde that therefore the king would not stay for the Pope's sentence, because he had already appealed from him to the next Generall Councell. Strayte after it was rumoured abroad, that Sir THOMAS MORE had answered and refuted this booke; of which flaunder Sir THOMAS purged himselfe by a letter to *Mr. Cromewell* now Secrerarie, and in the king's greate fauour, shewing by manie arguments that he neither would nor could confute that booke; which letter is at large in the latter ende of Sir THOMAS his workes.

But for all his purging himselfe, accusations still came thicke and threefolde vpon him. For the king by thereates and sifting of his former deedes, would either winne him to his minde, or else finde some occasion to except against his doings; and had he not bene a man of singular integritie, free from all bribes and corruption in all his offices, euerie light matter would haue bene layde now heauie vpon him; as of some things he was indeede accused, which addes more to his honour and reputation (b). There was one *Parnell* that

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 15. p. 197. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, cap. 12. p. 79.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 35. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 12. p. 80. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 3. p. 178.



grievously complayned against Sir THOMAS; because when he was Lo: Chancellour at the suite of one *Mr. Vaughan* his aduersarie, he had made a decree against him; for which at his wife's handes Sir THOMAS had taken a greate guilt Cuppe as a bribe: for the clearing of which accusation Sir THOMAS being called before the bodie of the Councell, the whole matter was in grievous manner layde to his charge; and when Sir THOMAS confessed the taking thereof saying, that for as much as that Cuppe was giuen him long after the decree for a new yeares guift, he at her importunitie, of courtesie, refused not to take it. Then the Lo: of *Wiltshire* *Q. Anne's* father, who was the preferrer of the suite, & hated Sir THOMAS both for his religion, and for that he had not consented to his daughter's marriage, with much ioy sayd vnto the other Lords; "Loe, did I not tell you, that "you should finde the matter true?" wherevpon Sir THOMAS desired their Honours, as they had courteously heard him tell the one parte of his tale, so they would voutsafe to heare the other with indifferent eares; which being granted he further declared vnto them, that albeit at her vrging he had indeede receaued the Cuppe, yet immediately therevpon he caused his butler to fill it vp with wine, and therein drunke to her; which when he had donne, and she pledged him, then he as freely as her husband bestowed it vpon him, did euen as willingly bestowe the same vpon her

her againe for her new yeares-guift; & so forced her to receaue it, though much against her will; all which herselfe and manie others there then present depofed before that honourable affemblic. Thus his accusers were putt to shame enough, and he with great honour acquitted.

(a) At another time, on a new-yeares day also, there came vnto him M.<sup>rs</sup> Croaker, a verie rich woman, for whome with no smal paines he had made a decree in Chauncerie against the Lo: of *Arundel*, (neuer fearing in acte of Iustice, anie nobilitie of bloud, or greatenesse of personage) who presented him with a paire of gloues, and fourescore Angells in them; he thankfully receaued the gloues of her, but refused the monie saying: M.<sup>rs</sup> seeing it were against good manners to refuse a gentlewomans new-yeares-guift, I am content to take your gloues; but as for the lining, I vtterly refuse it, and so caused her to take her monie againe.

(b) One *Mr. Gresham* likewise, hauing at the same time a Cause depending before him in the Chancerie, sent him for a new-yeares-guift a fayre guilt Cuppe, the fashion whereof he very wel liked; wherefore he caused the messenger to take one of his owne Cuppes, which was in value better, though the fashion pleased him not so well, & deliuer it to his

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 36. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 12. p. 82.

(b) Ibid.

maister in recompence of the other ; & vnder no other condition would he receaue it ; wherefore he was fayne so to doe.

Manie like vnto those actes did he, which declared how cleane his hands were from taking of anie bribes ; which for tediousnesse sake we will omitt ; these are enough to shew anie liuing man, how little he gayned, yea how little he cared for all transitorie wealth, esteeming vertues of the minde his richest threasure, and *Christ* naked on the Crosse his chiefe desire ; which holie pleasure of his almightie God before his death fulfilled, when for his loue he lost all that might be most deare vnto worldlie men ; separation from wife and children, losse of all libertie, and the vtter ouerthrowe of all his goods and estate ; yet by leeing these things he gayned better ; for in steede of temporall, he atchieued eternall, in lieu of transitorie, he hath purchased permanent, in roome of deceiptfull trash, he hath bought to himselfe a Crowne of glorie : *centuplum accepit, & vitam æternam possidet* ; he was a true marchant, that by selling all he had, bought the precious margarite spoken of by *Christ* in S. Matthew ; then which there can be imagined nothing more precious, which without doubt he enioyeth for all eternitie.

7. (a) Now there was another parlement called, where in there was a bill putt into the

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 36. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 12. p. 83.

Lower



Lower house to attaynte the nunne and manie other religious men of high treason, and Bishopp *Fisher* with Sir THOMAS MORE of misprision of treason; which bill the King supposed would be so terrible to Sir THOMAS, that it would force him to relente, and condescende vnto him; But therein he was much deceaued; for first Sir THOMAS sued, that he might be admitted into the Parlement to make his owne defence personally; which the king not liking of, graunted the hearing of this Cause to my Lo: of *Canterburie*, the Lo: Chancellour, the Duke of *Norfolke* and Mr. *Cromwell*; who appointing Sir THOMAS to appeare before them; my vncle *Roper* requested his father earnestly to labour vnto them, that he might be putt out of the parlement bill; who answered then that he would; but at his coming thither, he neuer once entreated them for it; when he came into their presence, they entertained him very courteously, requesting him to sitt downe with them; which in no case he would; then the Lo: Chancellour beganne to tell him, how manie waies the king's maiestie had shewed his loue and fauour towards him, how gladly he would haue had him continue in his office, how desirous he was to haue heaped still more and more benefittes vpon him, and finally that he could aske no worldlie honour and profitt at his Highnesse's hands, but that it was probable that he should obtaine it; hoping by these words, declaring the king's affection towards him, to

stirre Sir THOMAS vp to recompence the king with the like, by adding his consent vnto the king's, which the Parlement, the Bishoppes, and manie Vniuersities had already consented vnto;

(a) Wherevnto Sir THOMAS mildely made this answer, *that there was no man liuing that would with better will doe anie thing, which should be acceptable to his Highnesse then he, who must needes confesse his manifolde bountie and liberall guifts plentifully bestowed vpon him; howbeit he verily hoped that he should neuer haue heard of this matter anie more; considering that from the beginning he had so plainely and truly declared his minde vnto his maiestie; which his highnesse of his benigne clemencie had euer seemed like a gracious prince very well to accept of, neuer minding, as he sayd vnto him, to molest him anie more therewith; since which time, sayd he, I neuer found anie further matter to moue me to anie change; and if I could, sayd he, there is not one in the whole world, which would haue bene more ioyfull for it.*

(b) Many speeches hauing passed to and fro, on both sides, in the ende, when they saw euidently, that they could not remoue him from his former determination by no manner of perswasion, then beganne they more terribly to threaten him saying: the king's maiestie

(a) Ibid. p. 37. and p. 84.

(b) Ibid. p. 38. and p. 85.

had giuen them in commaunde expressely, yf they could by no gentle meanes winne him, that they should in his name with greate indignation charge him, that neuer there was seruant so villanous to his Soueraigne, nor anie subiect so trayterous to his prince, as he; For by his subtile and sinister sleights he had most vnnaturally procured and prouoked the king to sett forth a booke of the assertion of the Seauen Sacraments, and for the maintenance of the Pope's authoritie, so that he had caused his Maiestie to put a sword in to the Pope's hands to fight against himselfe to his greate dishonour, in all the partes of Christendome.

(a) Now when they had displayed all their malice and threatens against him; my Lord, sayd Sir THOMAS, *these terrours be frights for children, and not for me; but to answer that, wherewith you chiefly burthen me, I belieue the king's Highnesse of his honour will neuer lay that booke to my charge; for there is none that can in that point say more for my discharge then himselfe; who right well knoweth that I neuer was procurer, promotor, nor counseler of his Maiestie thereunto; only, after it was finished, by his Grace's appointment, and the consent of the makers of the same, I only sorted out, and placed in order the principall matters therein; wherein when I had found the Popes authoritie highly aduanced, and with strong arguments*

(a) Ibid.



mightily defended, I sayd thus to his Grace: I must putt your Highnesse in remembrance of one thing, and that is this: the Pope, as your Maiestie well knoweth, is a Prince, as you are, in league with all other Christian princes; it may hereafter fall out, that your Grace and he may varie upon some points of the league, whereupon may growe breache of amitie and warre betweene you both: therefore I thinke it best that that place be amended, and his authoritie more slenderly touched. Nay, quoth his Grace, that shall it not; we are so much bound to the Sea of Rome, that we cannot doe to much honour vnto it. Then did I further putt him in minde of our statute of Præmunire, whereby a good parte of the Pope's authoritie & pastoral cure was payred away; to which his Maiestie answered, whatsoeuer impediment be to the contrarie, we will sett forth that authoritie to the uttermost; For we haue receaued from that Sea our Crowne Imperiall; which till his Grace with his owne mouth so tolde me, I neuer heard before. Which things well considered, I trust when his Maiestie shall be truly informed thereof, and call to his gracious remembrance my sayings and doings in that behalfe, his Highnesse will neuer speake more of it, but will cleare me himselfe; with which wordes they with great displeasure dismissed him, & parted.

8. Then

8. (a) Then tooke Sir THOMAS his boate to *Chelfey*; wherein by the way he was verie merrie, and my vnclē *Roper* was not sorrie to see it; hoping that he had gotten himself discharged out of the bill. When he was landed and come home, they walked in his gardin, where my vnclē sayd vnto him: "I trust, Sir, all is well, because you are so merrie." "It is so indeede, sonne, I thanke God." "Are you then, Sir, putt out of the parlement Bill?" sayd my vnclē; "By my troth, sonne, I neuer remembred it." "Neuer remembred that?" sayd he, that toucheth you and vs all so neare? I am verie sorie to heare it. For I trusted all had bene well, when I saw you so merrie." "Wouldst thou knowe, sonne, why I am so ioyfull? In good Faith I reioyce that I haue giuen the diuell a fowle fall; because I haue with those Lords gone so farre, that without great shame I can neuer goe back." This was the cause of his ioye, not the ridding himself of troubles, but the confidence he had in God, that he would giue him strength willingly to suffer anie thing for Christs sake, that he might say with Christ IESVS: *Desiderio desideravi, &c.* I thirst greatly to drinke of the Cuppe of Christs passion; and with S. Paule, *Cupio dissolui, & esse cum Christo.* But these speeches though they liked Sir THO-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 39. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 12. p. 87.

MAS well, yet pleased they my vncle *Rooper* but a little.

(a) Now after the reporte made of this their examination of Sir THOMAS to the King, by the Lo: Chauncellour and the rest, king *Henry* was so highly displeased with Sir THOMAS MORE, that he plainely tolde them, that he was resolutely determined, that the foresayd parlement-bill should vndoubtedly proceede against them. Yet to this the Lo: Chancelour and the rest sayd: that they had perceaued that all the vpper house was so powerfully bent to heare Sir THOMAS speake in his owne defence, that if he were not putt out of the Bill, it would vtterly be ouerthrowen, and haue no force against the rest. Which words although the king heard them speake, yet needes would he haue his owne will therein, adding that he would be personally present himselfe at the passing of it. But the Lo: *Audeley* and the rest seing him so vehemently bent vpon it, fell downe vpon their knees, and besought his Maiestie not to doe so; considering that if he in his owne presence should be confronted and receaue an ouerthrowe, it would not only encourage his subiects euer after to contemne him, but also redounde to his dishonour for euer throughout all Christendome; and they doubted not in time but to finde some other fitter matter against him; For in this Case of the Nunne, they sayd, all

(a) Ibid. p. 39. and p. 87.



men accounted him so cleare and innocent, that for his behaviour therein euerie one reckoned him rather worthie of praise, then of reproofe. At which words of theirs, the king was contented at their earnest perswasion to condescende to their petition; yet was not his displeasure against Sir THOMAS anie whit asswaged but much more incensed.

(a) On the next morning Mr. Cromewell meeting my vnclē Rooper in the parlement house, tolde him, that his father was putt out of the bill; which message he sent presently to Chelsey; and when my auncle Rooper toulde her father thereof; he answered: In fayth Megg, *quod differtur, non auferitur*, knowing as it were the verie bottome of the King's hart, and all his Counsellis, imagining that this was not anie fauour donne vnto him, but that they might finde a fitter matter to worke on, as it shortly after proued.

(b) Within a while after the Duke of Norfolk fell into familiar talke with Sir THOMAS, and amongst other speaches he sayd vnto him: "By the masse, Mr. More, it is perillous striuing with princes; therefore I could wish you as a friend to encline to the king's pleasure; for by *God bodie*, Mr. More, *Indignatio principis mors est*." Is that all my Lord, sayd Sir THOMAS;

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 40. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 12. p. 88.

(b) Ibid. p. 40. and p. 89.

“ in good faith, then there is no more diffe-  
 “ rence betweene your Grace and me, but  
 “ that I shall dye to day, and you to mor-  
 “ row. (a) Yf therefore the anger of a  
 “ prince causeth but a temporall death, we  
 “ haue greater cause to feare the eternall death,  
 “ which the king of heauen can condemne  
 “ vs vnto, if we sticke not to displease him  
 “ by pleasing an earthlie king.”

(a) This last sentence is omitted by Mr. Roper and  
 Mr. Hoddesdon.

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C H A P.

## C H A P. IX.

The Refusall of the oath of supremacy, cause of Sir THOMAS MORES imprisonment in the Tower.

1. *The oath of supremacy and succession refused by Sir Thomas.*
2. *His imprisonment, first in westminster, after in the Tower.*
3. *A notable discourse between him and his daughter Margarit Roper.*
4. *Some other passages of his in the time of his durance.*
5. *A pretty dialogue between him and his wife the Lady More.*
6. *Maister Riche his sophisticall case put to Sir Thomas More.*
7. *His bookes, and meanes of writing taken from him.*
8. *His great care to giue no occasion of offence to the King.*

**N**OW in this parlement in the yeare 1534. when as Queen *Elizabeth* had bene borne the September before, and *Q. Anne* had bene proclaimed Queen the 12<sup>th</sup>. of April before that, and *Q. Catherine* declared the widowe only of prince *Arthur*; there was, I say, at this parlement an oath framed, whereby all English subiects should both renounce the Pope's authoritie and sweare also to the succession of *Q. Anne's* children,  
account-



accounting the Ladie *Marie* illegitimate (a); within a moneth or thereabouts after the enacting of this statute, all the Clergie as well Bishops as priests, yet no lay man but Sir THOMAS MORE, were summoned to appeare at *Lambeth*, before the Lo: Archbishop *Cranmer*, the Lo: Chancelour Audley, Mr. Secretarie *Cromewell*, the Abbott of *Westminster*, with others appointed Commissioners by the King, to tender this oath vnto them.

(b) On the same morning that Sir THOMAS was to goe thither, as he was accustomed before he tooke anie matter of importance in hand, he went to *Chelsey* church, and there was Confessed and receaued at masse deuoutly the blessed Sacrament; and whereas euer at other times before he parted from his wife and children, they used to bring him to his boate, and there kissing them bad them Farewell, at this time he suffered none of them to follow him forth of his gate, but pulled the wickett after him, and with a heauie hart, as by his countenance appeared, he tooke boate with his sonne *Rooper*, and their men; in which sitting sadly a while, as it were with *Christ* in his agonie in the gardin, at the last sodainely he rounded my vncke in the care, and sayd: "I thanke our Lord, sonne, the field is wonne." Whereto my vncke answered at randon, as

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 41. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 90.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 41. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 15. p. 305. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 91.

not knowing then his meaning; "I am very  
 "glad thereof." But one may easily knowe,  
 what he meant, and so my vncke afterward  
 perceaued, that the burning loue of God  
 wrought in him so effectually, that it now  
 had conquered all carnal affections; trusting  
 to that saying of our Sauour: *Beholde and  
 haue confidence; I haue conquered the world.*

How wisely he behaued himself at *Lambeth*,  
 may be seene in a letter of his sent after to my  
 aunte *Rooper*, which is sett out in printe in the  
 latter ende of his English Workes, with others  
 his most singular letters, wherein he liuely de-  
 scribeth to his children all his troubles, &  
 sheweth what a heauenlie spiritt he had to en-  
 dure all for Gods sake, trusting still chiefly to  
 Gods goodnesse, not to his owne strength, the  
 effect whereof is this: (a) *After he was cal-  
 led before them, he requested of them to see the  
 oath, which when he had read vnto himselfe  
 he answered, that he neither would find faulte  
 with the oath, nor with the authors of it,  
 nor would blame the conscience of anie man  
 that had taken it, but for himselfe, he could  
 not take it without endangering his soule of  
 eternall damnation; which if they doubted of,  
 he would sweare vnto them, that that was  
 the chiefe cause of his refusall; in which se-  
 cond oath, if they doubted to trust him, how*

(a) Sir Tho. More's Works, p. 1428. See also Stapleton.  
 Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 15. p. 299. Mr. Roper's Life of Sir  
 Tho. More, p. 41. seq. & Mr. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho.  
 More, cap. 13. pag. 92. seq.

then

*then could they trust him in the former?* Which he having sayd my Lo: Chancelour replyed, that all there were hartily sorie, he should make such an answer; for they constantly affirmed that he was the first man that denyed to take it; which would greatly aggrauate the king's displeasure against him; and forthwith they shewed him a Catalogue of the Nobilitie and manie others, who had taken it, and had subscribed their names therevnto.

(a) Yet because he would not blame anie man's conscience therein, he was commaunded to walke into the gardin a while; and presently all the Clergie men, some Bishops, manie Doctours, and priests were called in, who all tooke it, except Bishop *Fisher*, and one Doctour *Wilson*, without anie scruple, stoppe or stay; & (b) the vicar of *Croyden*, saith Sir THOMAS, called for a cuppe of beere at the butterie barre, *quia erat notus Pontifici*, and he drunke *valde familiariter*.

After all these had soone dispatched the matter, for which they were sent for, Sir THOMAS was called in againe, and the names of all that had taken the oath, were shewed him; whereto for himselfe he answered as before; then they often obiected vnto him obstinacie; because he would neither take it, nor giue anie reason, why he refused it; to which he replied,

(a) Ibid.

(b) This circumstance is not mention'd by Dr. Stapleton, but is to be found in the Original Letter in Sir Tho. More's Works, p. 1429.

that



that his deniall only would prouoke the King's indignation sufficiently against him, and therefore he was loath anie further to aggrauate his displeasure, shewing what vrgent necessitie drew him vnto it; howbeit, if his Maiestie would testifie that his expressing the causes, wherefore he refused it, would not prouoke against him his further anger, he would not sticke to sett them downe in writing; and if anie man could satisfie those reasons to the content of his conscience, he would take the oath most willingly (a). Then *Cranmer*, my Lo: archbishop vrged him, that seeing he was not certaine of his conscience, but that it was a thing certaine, that he must obey his Prince, therefore was he to reiect that doubtfull conscience of his, and sticke to the latter, which was undoubted. Yet if this argument were of anie force, then in all controuersies of religion we may soone be resolved to follow whatloeuere anie king commaundeth vs.

(a) To this it was answered, that tho' the king should grant him his Letters Patents to this effect, they would not suffice to indemnify him against the Statute. Upon which Sir Tho. More replied, That if his Majesty would favour him with his Letters, he should rest satisfied with them, and rely upon his Majesty's honour for the performance of his promise. In the mean time it plainly appeared from their answer, that since there was so much danger in the declaring his Sentiments, the declining to explain himself upon this head, was not the effect of obstinacy and a stiffness of Temper. See the Original Letter in Stapleton's Life of Sir Tho. More, cap. 15. p. 301. and in Sir Tho. More's Works, &c. p. 1429. I find this Circumstance not only omitted by our Author, but also by Mr. Hodgesdon, in his History of Sir Thomas More, cap. 13. who has done little else, but transcribe from him.

And

And when the Abbott of *Westminster* had sayd, that he might very well suspect his owne conscience to be erroneous, because he alone would seeme to controule all the wisdome of the whole realme, who had made and taken it. Thereto Sir THOMAS answered; that if he alone should stand against so worthie a kingdom, he had great cause to feare his owne conscience; but if that of his side he could produce a farre greater number of as learned men as they, he thought himselfe *not then bound to reforme his conscience by following the consent of one kingdome against the generall receaued opinion of the whole Christian world.* When Mr. Secretarie seemed greatly to pittie him, Sir THOMAS added: yf any hard thing happened unto himselfe, he could not preuent it, without he should endanger his owne soule.

Then asked they him, whether he would sweare to the succession; to which he answered, that he was willing enough to do that, if the oath were sett downe in such wordes, as he might safely take it; Thereto my Lord Chancellor sayd: "see, Mr. Secretarie, he will  
 " not sweare to that neither, but under a cer-  
 " taine form of words." "No truly, replied  
 " Sir THOMAS, except I finde that I may sweare  
 " it without danger of periurie, and with a  
 " safe conscience (a)."

(a) Thus far from the Original Letter of Sir Tho. More to his Daughter Mrs. Roper.

12. (a) When he had thus behaved himselfe, he was committed to the custodie of the abbott of *Westminster* for the space of foure daies; during which time the king consulted with his counsell, what order were meet to be taken with him. And at the first albeit they were resolved, that, he swearing an oath not to be knowne, whether he had sworne to the Supremacie or no, or what he thought thereof, he should be discharged; yet did *Q. Anne* by her importunate clamours so sore exasperate the king against him, that contrarie to the king's former resolution (but indeede for the greater honour of God, and his martyr) the king caused againe the oath of Supremacie to be ministred vnto him; who although againe he made thereto a discreet qualified answer, neverthelesse he was forthwith committed to the Tower: when as he went thither, wearing a chaine of golde about his necke, (b) *Sir Richard Winkefield*, who had the charge of his conueyance thither, aduised him to sende home his chaine to his wife or some of his children; "nay  
 " Sir, sayd he, that I will not; for if I were  
 " taken in the fielde by mine enemies, I would  
 " they should fare somewhat the better for  
 " me"; rather choosing to have it lost in the Tower, than that the king's officers should gett

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 42. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 16. p. 306. Hoddeison's Hiff. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 94.

(b) This Gentleman is named by Mr. Roper, Sir Richard Cromwell, in his Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 42.



it at home, when he should leese all ; or else esteeming nothing lost, but gayned, which was lost for Christ. At his landing Mr. Lieftenant was readie to receave him at the Tower-gate ; where the porter demaunded of him his vpper garment ; "marry porter" (a), sayd he, "here it is," and gaue him of his cappe, saying, "I am sorie it is not better for thee. Nay Sir, quoth he, I must have your gowne ;" which forthwith he gave him ; and then was conveyed to his lodging, where he called unto him (b) *John Wood* his man there appointed to attende him, who could neither write nor reade, and sware him before Mr. Liefetenant, that if he should hear or see him at anie time speake or write anie thing against the king, the Councell, or the State of the realme, he should open it to Mr. Lieutenant, that he might straightwaies reueale it again to the Councell. This was his peaceable and constant carriage in aduersitie, bearing all his troubles with great alacritie, that both God was much pleased with his willingnesse, & euerie man admired much his patience: For if aduersitie will trie mens wisdome and true fortitude, surely Sir THOMAS was a most wise man, that nothing happened vnto him, which he did not in a manner foresee, and truly stoute, that nothing could daunte his courage or abate his magnanimitie.

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 42. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 13. pag. 285. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13.

(b) Mr. Roper in his Life of Sir Tho. More, calls him John Awood, p. 42.

3. (a) When he had remained with great chearefullnesse about a moneths space in the Tower, his daughter *Margaret*, longing sore to see her father, made earnest sute, and at last gott leaue to goe to him; at whose coming after they had sayde together the Seauen Psalmes, and Letanies (which he vsed alwaies after to say with her, when she came thither, before he would fall in talke of anie worldlie matters, to the intent he might commende all his wordes to almightie God's honour and glorie) amongst other speeches he sayd thus unto her: "I be-  
 " lieue, *Megg*, that they who have putt me  
 " here, thinke they have donne me a high dis-  
 " pleasure; but I assure thee on my fayth,  
 " mine owne good daughter, that if it had not  
 " bene for my wife & you my children, whome  
 " I accounte the chiefe parte of my charge, I  
 " would not haue sayled long ere this to  
 " haue closed myselfe in as strayte a roome  
 " as this, and strayter too; now since I am  
 " come hither without mine owne deserte,  
 " I trust that God of his goodnesse will discharge  
 " me of my care, and with his gracious helpe  
 " supply the want of my presence amongst  
 " you; and I finde no cause, I thanke God,  
 " to reckon myselfe here in worse case, then in  
 " mine owne house; For methinkes God by  
 " this imprisonment maketh me one of his  
 " wantons, and setteth me upon his lappe and

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 42, 43. Hod-  
 desdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 96.

“ dandeleth me (a), euen as he hath donne all  
 “ his best friends, *S. Iohn Baptist, S. Peter,*  
 “ *S. Paule* and all his holie Apostles, martyrs,  
 “ and his most especiall fauorites, whose ex-  
 “ amples God make me worthie to imitate.”

By which discourse of his it appeareth most evidently, that all the troubles, which euer happened vnto him, were no painefull punishments, but by his admirable patience and alacritic most profitable exercises (b). My aunte *Rooper* contrariewise, either because she would have more familiar accessse vnto her father, or else because indeede she would really perswade him to follow the king's fancie, beganne to diuerte him from such zealous discourses, and forcibly to vrge him with manie reasons and motiues to the taking of this oath, that they might enjoy his presence at his house at *Chelsy*; first, because he was more bounde to the king then anie man in *England*, and therefore ought the rather to obey his will in a case that was not evidently repugnant to God's lawe; secondly, it seemed not credible, that so manie wise and learned men, as were in *England*, should all impugne the will of God; thirdly, that he should beware how he pinned his soul vpon Bishopp *Fisher*, being one of the meanest bishops in *England*; fourthly, that there were so manie Bishops, Doctours, and learned men, that had taken it, so that he being a lay man

(a) This last part of the sentence is not mentioned by Mr. Roper or Mr. Hoddesdon.

(b) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 16. p. 308, seq.



seemed bound, in her judgment, to accommodate his conscience to theirs; and lastly, euerie one thought him bound in conscience to approve that, which a whole parlement of the realme had so uniformly enacted; for which reasons manie haue condemned you, Father, sayd she, either of inconsideration, rashnesse, or obstinacie. To the first Sir THOMAS answered, as may appeare by a letter of my aunte *Rooper's* yet extant, which contayneth all this their discourse, and by that (a) letter of Sir THOMAS his written to *Mr. Cromewell*, that he had not slightly considered of this matter, but for these seauen yeares space, since the time that king Henry had written against Luther, he had diligently read ouer all the Fathers both Greeke & Latine, who all from Ignatius (S. John Euangelist's disciple) euen to these late Diuines, with one consent, doe agree of the Popes Supremacie, which hath bene also accepted of throughout all Christendome, these thousand yeares and more; and he saw not how one member of the Church, as England was, could withdraw itself from the whole bodie; yet when he saw this controuersie beganne to be disputed of, he alwaies had tempered his speeches against *Tindall*, that *ex professo* he neuer argued vpon that theame; but now being putt to his choice, whether he should offende his Conscience or the king, whether he should fall into temporall danger or eternall ha-

(a) See this part of it copied by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 16. p. 310. and Sir Tho. More's Works, p. 1427.

zard of his soule, I cannot, saith he, resolute otherwise, then anie wise man would.

To the second, he sayde, he would not condemne anie bodie for taking it; *for some, saith he, may doe it upon temporall hopes, or feare of greate losses, for which I will neuer thinke anie hath taken it; for I imagine no bodie is so fraile and fearefull as myselfe; some may hope, that God will not impute it vnto them for a sinne, because they do it by constraint; some may hope to doe pennance presently after; and others are of opinion that God is not offended with our mouth, so our heart be pure; but as for my parte, I dare not ieoparde myselfe vpon these vaine hopes.*

To the third, he saith, it was altogeather improbable, because he refused this oath before it was rendered to Bishopp Fisher, or before he knewe whether he would refuse it or no.

To the fourth, *though there were neuer so manie learned prelates within this realme, that should take it, yet being manie more in other partes of Christendome, which thinke as I do, I am not bound to conformance myselfe to these alone, hauing the Doctours of the Church on my side, who could not be drawen neither for hopes nor feares.*

Finally to the last, he wisely answered, that although to denye the decree of a generall Councell were a damnable acte, yet to withstande a statute of one realme's making, which contradicteth the constant opinion of the whole Church, is neither a rash deede, nor an obstinate,  
but

*but most laudable and Christianlike.* All which disputation my aunte *Rooper* sett downe in a letter to her sister *Alington*, printed together with Sir THOMAS his letters.

After all this, my aunte *Rooper* sought to fright him with the danger of death, which might perhaps moue him to relente, when he cannot hinder his mishappes, but now he might preuent all, being yet not too late: whereunto how humbly he speaketh of his own frailtie, and how confidently he relieth upon Gods mercie, may be seene at large (a); whose wordes are so humble, so zealous, so godlie, that they are able to pierce anie mans hart, that will reade them in the latter ende of his workes; they breathe out an Angelicall spiritt, farre different from the presumptuous speaches of either heretike or desperate man: *Lord helpe me; yf God for my manie and grievous sinnes will suffer me to be damned, his Iustice shall be praised in me; but I hope he will procure for me, that his mercie shall have the upper hand; nothing can happen, but that which God pleaseth; and what that is, though it should seeme euil vnto vs, yet it is truely the best.*

4. At another time, when he had questioned with my aunte *Rooper* of his wife, children, and state of his house in his absence (b), he

(a) See Sir Tho. More's Works, p. 1441. seq. and Dr. Stapleton, in Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 16. p. 314. seq.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 43. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap 7. p. 235. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 96.



asked her at last, how *Q. Anne* did : In sayth, Father, said she, neuer better ; there is nothing else in the Courte but dancing and sporting. Neuer better, sayd he ; alas, *Megg*, alas ; it pitieth me to remember vnto what miserie, poore soule, she will shortly come ; these dances of hers will proue such dances, that she will spurne our heads of like foote bals ; but it will not be long ere her head will dance the like dance. And how prophetically he spoke these words, the ende of her Tragedie proued it most true.

(a) Mr. Lieutenant coming into his chamber to visite him, rehearsed the manie benefitts and friendshipps, that he had often receaued from him, and therefore that he was bound to entertaine him friendly, and make him good cheare ; but the case standing as it did, he could not doe it without the king's displeasure ; wherefore he hoped that he would accept of his good will, & of the poore fare he had ; whereto he answer'd, " I verily belieue you, good Mr. Lieutenant, " and I thanke you most hartily for it, and assure yourselfe I doe not mislike my fare ; but " whensoever I doe, then spare not to thrust " me out of your doores."

(b) Now whereas the oath of Supremacie and marriage was comprized in few wordes in the first Statute ; the Lo : Chancellour and Mr.

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 43. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 13. p. 285. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 97.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 44. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 97, 98.

Secretarie did of their owne heads adde more wordes ynto it, to make it seeme more plausible to the king's eares; and this oath so amplified they had exhibited to Sir THOMAS and others; of which their deede Sir THOMAS sayde to his daughter: "I may tell thee, *Megg*, that "they who haue committed me hither, for "refusing an oath not agreable with their owne "statute, are not able by their owne lawe to "iustifye mine imprisonment; wherefore it is "great pittie, that anie Christian prince should "be drawen to followe his affections by flexible counsell, and by a weake Clergie lacking grace; for want of which they stande "weakely to their learning, & abuse themselves with flatterie so shamefully." Which wordes coming to the Councell's eares, they caused another Statute, espying their oversight, to be enacted with all these conditions.

(a) Another time looking out of his window to beholde one *Mr. Reynolds*, a religious, learned, and vertuous Father of *Sion*, and three monkes of the *Charterhouse* going forth of the Tower to their execution (for now king *Henry* beganne to be fleshed in bloud, hauing putt to death the Nunne and diuerse others, and manie after for the Supremacie and his marriage) Sir THOMAS, as one that longed to accompanie them in that iourney, sayde to his daughter then standing besides him: "Loe, doest not

(a) Ibid. p. 45. & p. 98.

"thou

"thou see, *Megg*, that these blessed Fathers be  
 "now as chearefully going to death, as if they  
 "were bridegroomes going to be married?  
 "whereby, good daughter, thou maist see what  
 "a great difference there is betweene such as  
 "haue in effect spent all their daies in a straight,  
 "hard, and penitentiall life religiously, and  
 "such as haue in the world like worldlie  
 "wretches (as thy poore father hath donne)  
 "consumed all their time in pleasure and ease  
 "licentiously? For God considering their long  
 "continued life in most sore and grieuous pen-  
 "nance, will not suffer them anie longer to  
 "remaine in this vale of miserie, but taketh  
 "them speedily hence, to the fruition of his e-  
 "uerlasting deitie; whereas thy sillie father,  
 "who hath most like a wicked Caytife passed  
 "forth most sinfully the whole course of his  
 "miserable life, God thinketh him not wor-  
 "thie to come so soone to that eternall felici-  
 "tie, but leaueth him still in the world further  
 "to be plunged and turmoiled with miserie."  
 By which most humble and heauenlie medita-  
 tion, we may easily guesse what a spirite of Cha-  
 ritie he had gotten by often meditations, that  
 euerie sight brought him new matter to prac-  
 tise most heroicall resolutions.

(a) Within a while after this Mr. Secretarie  
 coming to him from the king (who still gaped  
 more for Sir THOMAS his relenting, then all his

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 46. Hodges-  
 don's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 99.



other subjects) pretended much friendship towards Sir THOMAS, and for his comfort tolde him, that the king was his good and gracious Lord, and minded not to vrge him to anie matter, wherein he should haue anie cause of scruple from thenceforth to trouble his conscience. As soone as M. Secretarie was gone, to expresse what comfort he receaued of his words, he wrote with a coale, (as he did vsually manie other letters, because all his Inke had bene taken from him by the king's expresse commaundement,) certaine wittie (a) verses, which are printed in his booke.

All the while Sir THOMAS was in the Tower, he was not idle, but busied himself in writing (with a coale for the most parte) spirituall treatises, as the Three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation, where, in a dialogue manner vnder the names of two *Hungarians* fearing the Turkes running ouer their Countrie, who had made great preparations therefore, he paynteth out in liuelie coulours both the danger that *England* stoode then in to be ouerwhelmed with heresie, and how good Catholikes should prepare themselues, to loose libertie, life and

(a) *Ey flatering fortune, loke thou neuer so fayre,  
Or neuer so plesantly begin to smile,  
As though thou wouldst my Ruine all repayre,  
During my life thou shalt me not begile,  
Trust shall I God to entre in a while  
His haven of heauen sure and uniforme,  
Euer after thy calme loke I for a storme.*

See Sir Thomas More's Works, &c. p. 1432. These Verses are mentioned by Mr. Roper and Mr. Hoddesdon, but with some little variation.

lands

lands, and whatsoeuer can be most deare vnto them, rather then to forsake their sayth. It is a most excellent booke, full of spirituall and forcible motiues, expressing liuely Sir THOMAS his singular resolution to apply all those holesome medicines to himself, now being readie to practise in deede, whatsoeuer he setteth downe in wordes.

4. (a) When he had remained a good while in the Tower, my Ladie his wife obtained leaue to see him, that he might haue more motiues to breake his conscience; who at the first coming to him like a plaine rude woman, and somewhat worldlie too, in this manner beganne bluntely to salute him. "What the good yeare, Mr. More, I maruell that you, who haue bene hitherto alwaies taken for a wise man, will now so play the foole, as to lie here in this close filthie prison, and be content to be shutt vp thus with mice and ratts, when you might be abroad at your libertie with the fauour and good will both of the king and the Councell, if you would but doe as all the bishopps & best learned of his realme haue donne: and seing you haue at Chelsey a right fayre house, your librarie, your bookes, your gallerie, your gardine, your orchard and all other necessities so handsome about you, where you might in companie of me your wife, your Children

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 46. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 99. Stapleton's Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 16. p. 321.

“ and hougholde be merrie ; I muse what a  
“ Gods name you meane here still thus fond-  
“ ly to tarrie.” After he had a good while  
heard her, he sayd vnto her with a chearefull  
countenance: “ I pray thee, good M.<sup>rs</sup> *Alice*,  
“ tell me one thing.” “ What is that,” saith  
she. “ *Is not this house as neare heauen as*  
“ *mine owne ?*” she answering after her cu-  
stome: *Tillie vallie, tillie vallie*: he replied:  
“ how sayst thou M.<sup>rs</sup> *Alice*, is it not so in-  
“ deede?” “ *Bone Deus* man, will this geare  
“ neuer be left?” Well then, M.<sup>rs</sup> *Alice*, if it  
“ be so, I see no great cause, why I should much  
“ ioye either of my fayre house, or anie thing  
“ belonging therevnto, when if I should be  
“ but seauen yeares buried vnder the ground,  
“ and rise and come thither againe (he might  
haue sayd but seauen moneths) “ I should not  
“ fayle to finde some therein, that would bid  
“ me gett me out of doores, and tell me plaine-  
“ ly, that it were none of mine ; what cause  
“ haue I then to like such a house, as would  
“ so soone forgett his Maister ? Again, tell  
“ me M.<sup>rs</sup> *Alice*, how long doe you thinke  
“ may we liue and enioye it?” “ Some twen-  
“ tie yeares,” sayd she. “ Truly,” replied he,  
“ yf you had sayd some thousand yeares, it  
“ had bene somewhat ; and yet he were a  
“ very bad marchant that would put himself  
“ in danger to leese eternitie for a thousand  
“ yeares ; how much the rather, if we are not  
“ sure to enioye it one day to an ende.” And thus  
her perswasions moued him but a little, think-  
ing



ing of those wordes of *Iob* to his wife tempt-  
ing him, *quasi una ex stultis mulieribus lo-  
cuta est.*

(a) Not long after this came there to him  
at two severall times the Lord Chancellour,  
the Duke of Norfolke and Suffolke with Mr.  
Secretarie, and certaine others of the Priuie  
Councell to procure him by all meanes and  
policies they could either to confesse precise-  
ly the king's Supremacie, or plainely to deny  
it. Here may we see that those verie men,  
which seemed to crye before vnto him: *Osan-  
na, benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini,*  
say here, *tolle, tolle, crucifige eum:* this is  
the ficklenesse of the worldlie men. But to  
this, as appeareth by the examinations sett out  
at the ende of his English Workes, they could  
neuer bring him, because he was loath to ag-  
grauate the king's displeasure against himselfe,  
saying only, that the Statute was like a two-  
edged sworde; if he should speake against it,  
he should procure the death of his bodie; and  
if he should consent vnto it, he should purchase  
the death of his soule.

6. (b) After all these examinations came  
Mr. *Rich*, afterwards made the Lo: *Rich* for  
his good seruice donne in this point, then  
newly created the king's Sollicitour, *Sir Ri-  
chard Southwell*, and one *Mr. Palmer* Mr.

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 47. Hoddes-  
don's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 101.

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 47. Stapleton  
Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 16. p. 320. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir  
Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 102.

Secre:

Secretarie's man, were sent by the king to take away all his bookes. *Mr. Rich* pretending to talke friendly with Sir THOMAS sayd thus vnto him, (as it proued after) of sett purpose. " For as much as it is well knowen, *Mr. More*, " that you are a man both wise, & well learn- " ed in the lawes of this realme & in all o- " ther studies, I pray you, Sir, lett me be so " bolde as of good will to putt vnto you this " Case : Admitt there were an act of Par- " lement made, that all the realme should " take me for king, would not you, *Mr. More*, " take me for king ? " " Yes Sir," sayd Sir THOMAS, " that I would ; " I putt the Case further," sayd *Mr. Rich*, " that there were an act of " Parlement, that all the realme should take " me for Pope, would not you then take me " for Pope ? " " For answer," sayd Sir THOMAS, " to your first Case, the Parlement may well, " *Mr. Rich*, meddle with the state of Tem- " porall princes ; but to make answer to your " other Case, suppose the Parlement should " make a lawe, that God should not be God, " would you then, *Mr. Rich*, say that God " should not be God ? " " No Sir," sayd he, " that would I not : For no Parlement can " make such a lawe." " No more," reported he, that Sir THOMAS should say ; but indeede he made no such inference, as he auouched after to *Mr. Rich* his face, " could the Par- " lement make the king supream head of the " Church ; " and vpon this only reporte of *Mr. Rich*, Sir THOMAS was shortly after in-  
dited

dicted of high treason vpon the new Statute of Supremacie. (a) At this time Mr. Lieutenant reported that *Mr. Rich* had so vile a smell about him, that he could scarce endure him, which Sir THOMAS also felt.

7. (b) He had a little before this begunne a diuine treatise of the passion of Christ; but when he came to expounde those wordes of the Gospell, *And they layde hands vpon him, and held him*; these gentlemen tooke from him all his bookes, Inke and paper, so that he could write no more. Which being donne, he applyed himselfe wholly to meditation, keeping his chamber windowes fast shutt, and very darke: (c) the occasion whereof Mr. Lieutenant asking him, he answered, when all the wares are gone, the shoppe windowes are to be shutt vp. Yet still, by stealth he would gett little peeces of paper, in which he would write diuerse letters with a coale: of which my father left me one, which was to his wife: which I accounte as a precious Jewell, afterwards drawen ouer by my grandfathers sonne with inke.

8. What respect Sir THOMAS had not to displease the king in anie of his deedes or answers, may be scene by his discreete behaviour in all his proceedings: For first in his

(a) This circumstance is omitted by the Authors, whom I have cited above.

(b) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 190. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. pag. 103.

(c) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 13. p. 286. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 13. p. 103.



bookes he neuer handled exactly the Popes Supremacie; though vrgent occasion were giuen him by the bookes which he tooke in hand to confute; secondly, whatsoeuer writing he had touching that Controuerſie, he either made them away or burnt them, before his troubles; as also a booke, which the Biſhopp of *Bath* had written of that matter; thirdly, he would neuer take vpon him to aduiſe any man in that point, though much vrged thereto by letters, eſpecially of Doctour *Willſon* his fellow priſoner in the Tower, knowing himſelf, being a lay man, not to be bound to perſwade a Clergie man, much leſſe a Doctour of Diuinitie: Fourthly, when he was brought from the Tower to *Westminster* to answer his Inditement, and therevpon arraigned at the King's-Bench-barre, where he had often asked his father's bleſſing; he openly tolde the Iudges, that he would haue abidden in law, and demurred vpon the Inditement, but that he ſhould haue bene driuen thereby to confeſſe of himſelfe, that he had denyed the kings Supremacie, which he proteſted he neuer had donne. And indeede the principall faulte there layde to his charge was, that he maliciously, traiterouſly, and Diabolically would not vtter his minde of that Oath. Whereto Sir THOMAS pleaded; not guiltie: and reſerued to himſelfe aduantage to be taken of the bodie of the matter after verdict, to auoyde that Inditement, adding moreouer, that if only thoſe odious

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tearmes were taken out, he saw nothing that could charge him of anie Treason.

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C H A P. X.

The Arraignment and condemnation of Sir THOMAS MORE.

1. *Sir Thomas Mores arraignment at the kings-benche.* 2. *His worthy, resolute, and discreet answer to his inditement.* 3. *Maister Riche his false oath against Sir Thomas, cleerly reiected.* 4. *The Iurours verdict excepted against by Sir Thomas, with a noble confession of ecclesiasticall supremacy.* 5. *Sentence of condemnation pronounced against Sir Thomas.* 6. *He deliuereth fully and plainly his iudgement, touching the act and oath of supremacy.*

1. **A**fter that the (a) king had endeauoured by all meanes possible to gett Sir THOMAS his consent vnto his lawes, knowing that his example would moue manie, being so eminent for wisedome and rare vertues, and could by no meanes obtaine his desire, he commaunded him to be called to his Arraignment at the kings-bench barre, hauing bene a prisoner in the Tower somewhat more then

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 48. Hoddefdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 14. p. 105.

a twelue-moneth, for he was Committed a-  
bout midde-Aprill, and this happened the (a)  
seauenth of May 1535. the yeare following:  
He went thither leaning on his staffe, because  
he had bene much weakened by his imprison-  
ment, his countenance chearefull and constant;  
his Iudges were, *Audley* the Lo: Chancellour,  
*Fitz James*, the Lo: Chiefe Justice, *Sir Iohn*  
*Baldwin*, *Sir Richard Leister*, *Sir Iohn Port*,  
*Sir Iohn Spilman*, *Sir Walter Luke*, *Sir An-*  
*tonie Fitzherbert*: where the king's Attornye  
reading a long odious Inditement, contayning  
all the crimes, that could be layd against anie  
notoricus malefactour, so long, (b) as Sir  
THOMAS professed, he could scarce remember  
the third parte, that was obiected against him;  
but the speciall faulte was that of the refusall  
of the oath, as is before spoken, for prooffe  
whereof his double examination in the tower  
was alledged; the first, before *Cromewell*, *Tho-*  
*mas Beade*, *Iohn Tregunnell*, &c. To whome  
he professed that he had giuen ouer to thinke  
of titles either of Popes or Princes, although  
all the whole world should be giuen him, be-  
ing fully determined only to serue God; the  
second before the Lo: Chancellour, *Duke of*  
*Suffolke*, *Earle of Wiltshire* and others, before  
whome he compared that Oath to a two-edg-  
ed sword; for if he should take it, his soule

(a) Stapleton says, the 1st of June. Vir. Th. Mori, chap.  
18. p. 314.

(b) Regin. Poli pro Eccles. Unit. defensione lib. 3. p.

53. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 18. p. 314.



should be wounded; yf he refused it, his bodie: That he had written letters to Bishopp *Fisher* to perswade him therein, because their answers were alike; vpon all which it was concluded, that Sir THOMAS was a traytour to his Prince and realme, for denying the king's supreme Iurisdiction in ecclesiastical gouernement. Presently after this Inditement was read, the Lo: Chancellour and the Duke of *Norfolke* (a) spoke to this effect vnto him: "you see now how grieuously you haue offended his Maiestie. Yet he is so mercifull, that yf you will lay away your obstinacie, and change your opinion, we hope you may obtaine pardon of his highnesse." Whereto the stoute Champion of Christ replied: "Most noble Lords, I haue greate cause to thanke your Honours for this your courtesie; but *I beseech Almighty god that I may continue in the minde I am in through his grace vnto death;*" by which three words he exercised the actes of three vertues, humanitie, pietie, and fortitude, shewing himself a Ciuile man, a godlie Christian, and a noble Confessour of Christ's truth.

2. (b) After this he was suffered to saye what he could in his owne defence, and then he beganne in this sorte: *When I thinke how long my accusation is, and what haynous mat-*

(a) Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 18. p. 335. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 14. p. 106.

(b) Ibid. See also Reginaldi Poli pro Ecclesiast. unit. defensione, lib. 3. p. 63.

ters are layed to my charge, I am stroken with feare, least my memorie and witt both, which are decayed togeather with the health of my bodie, through a long impediment contracted by my imprisonment, be not now able to answer these things on the suddaine, as I ought, and otherwise could. After this there was brought him a chaire, in which when he was sate, he beganne againe thus:

There are foure principall heads, yf I be not deceaued, of this my Inditement, euerie of which I purpose, God willing, to answer in order; To the first that is objected against me, to witt, that I haue bene an enemy of a stubbernesse of minde to the king's second marriage; I confesse that I alwaies tolde the king my opinion therein, as my conscience dictated vnto me, which I neither euer would, nor ought to haue concealed; for which I am so farre from thinking myself guiltie of high treason, as that of the contrarie, I being demaunded my opinion by so great a prince in a matter of such importance, whereupon the quietnesse of a kingdom dependeth, I should haue basely flattered him against mine owne conscience, and not vttered the truth as I thought, then I should worthily haue bene accounted a most wicked subiect, and a perfidious trayter to God; yf herein I had offended the king, if it can be an offence to tell one's minde plainely, when our prince asketh vs, I suppose I haue bene already punished enough for this falte, with most grieuous af-

fiction, with the losse of all my goods, and committed to perpetuall imprisonment, hauing bene shutt up alreadie almost these fifteen monethes.

My second accusation is, that I haue transgressed the Statute in the last parlement, that is to say, being a prisoner, and twice examined by the Lords of the Councell, I would not disclose vnto them my opinion of a malignant, perfidious, obstinate and trayterous minde, whether the king were supream head of the Church or no; but answered them, that this law belonged not to me, whether it were iust or vniust, because I did not enioye anie benefice from the church; yet I then protested, that I neuer had sayd or donne anie thing against it, neither can anie one word or action of mine be produced, to make me culpable; yea this I confesse was then my speach vnto their Honours, that I hereafter would thinke of nothing else, but of the bitter passion of our blessed Sauour and of my passage out of this miserable world. I wisbe no harme to anie; and yf this will not keepe me alieue, I desire not to liue; by all which I knowe, that I could not transgresse anie law, or incurre anie crime of treason; for neither this Statute nor anie law in the world can punish anie man for holding his peace; for they only can punish either words or deedes, God only being Iudge of our secrett thoughts.

Of which words, because they were vrgent indeede, the king's Atturanie interrupted him and sayd: Although we haue not one word



or deede of yours to obiect against you, yet haue we your silence, which is an euident signe of a malicious minde, because no dutiefull subiect being lawfully asked this question, will refuse to answer. To which Sir THOMAS replied, saying: *my silence is no signe of anie malicious minde, which the king himself may know by manie of my dealings, neither doth it conuince anie man of breache of your law. For it is a maxime amongst the Ciuilians and Canonists: Qui tacet, consentire videtur; he that holdeth his peace, seemeth to consente. And as for that you say, no good subiect will refuse to answer directly, I think it verily the dutie of a good subiect, except he be such a subiect, as will be an euill Christian, rather to obey God then man, to haue more care of offending his Conscience, then of anie other matter in the world, especially if his Conscience procure neither heauie scandall nor sedition to his Prince or Countrie, as mine hath not donne; for I here proteste vnfaignedly, that I neuer reuealed it to anie man liuing.*

*I now come to the third Capitall matter of my Inditement, whereby I am accused, that I maliciously attempted, trayterously endeauoured, and perfidiously practised against this Statute, as the wordes thereof affirme, because I wrote eight sundrie packetts of letters, whilst I was in the Tower, vnto Bishopp Fisher, by which I exhorted him to breake the same lawe, and induced him to the like obstinacie; I would*

haue these letters produced and read against me, which may either free me or conuince me of a lye. But because you say the Bishopp burnt them all, I will here tell the truth of the whole matter; some were onely of priuate matters, as about our olde friendship and acquaintance; one of them was in answer to his, whereby he desired of me to knowe how I had answered in my examinations to this Oath of Supremacie; touching which, this onely I wrote vnto him againe, that I had already settled my conscience; lett him settle his to his owne good liking; and no other answer I gaue him, God is my wittnesse, as God, I hope, shall saue this my soule; and this I trust is no breache of your lawes.

The last objected crime is, that being examined in the tower I did say that this law was like a two-edged sword; for in consenting thereto, I should endanger my soule; in refusing it, I should leese my life: which answer, because B. Fisher made the like, it is euidently gathered, as you say, that we both conspired togeather. Whereto I repley, that my answer there was but conditionall, yf there be danger in both either to allowe or disallowe this Statute; and therefore, like a two-edged sword, it seemeth a hard thing, that it should be offered to me, that neuer haue hitherto contradicted it either in word or deede. These were my wordes. What the Bishopp answered, I knowe not. If his answer were like mine, it proceeded not from  
anie

anie Conspiracie of ours, but from the likenesse of our witts and learning. To conclude, I vn-faynedly auouche, that I never spake word against this law to anie living man; although perhaps the king's Maiestie hath bene tolde the contrarie.

3. To this full answer the Atturneye did not repleye anie more, but the word, Malice, was in the mouth of all the Courte; but noe man could produce either word or deede to proue it; yet for all this clearing of himself, for a last prooffe to the Iurie that Sir THOMAS was guiltie, *Mr. Rich* was called forth to giue euidence vnto them vpon his oath, which he did forthwith, affirming that which we haue spoken of before in their Communication in the Tower, against whome, now sworne and forsworne; (a) Sir THOMAS beganne in this wise to speake, "Yf I were a man, my Lords, that did not regarde an oath, I needed not at this time in this place, as is well knowen vnto euerie one, to stande as an accused person. And yf this oath, *Mr. Rich*, which you haue taken be true, then I pray, that I neuer see God in the face: which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gaine the whole world."

Then did he recite before all the Courte the whole discourse of all their Communication in the Tower, according as it was, truly &

(a) Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 49. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 14. p. 111.

"sincere-



sincerely, adding this : " In good fayth *Mr.*  
 "*Rich*, I am more sorie for your periurie, then  
 " for mine own perill; and knowe you, that  
 " neither I nor anie man else to my know-  
 " ledge euer tooke you to be a man of such  
 " credit, as either I or anie other would vouch-  
 " safe to communicate with you in anie matter  
 " of importance. You knowe that I haue  
 " bene acquaynted with your manner of life  
 " and conuersation a long space, euen from  
 " your youth to this time; for we dwelt long  
 " togeather in one parish, where as yourself  
 " can well tell (I am sorie you compelle me  
 " to speake it) you were alwaies esteemed very  
 " light of your tounge, a great dyce and game-  
 " ster, and not of anie commendable fame ei-  
 " ther there or at your house in the Temple,  
 " where hath bene your bringing vp. Can it  
 " therefore seem likelie to your Hon:<sup>ble</sup> Lord-  
 " shippes that in so weightie a Cause I should so  
 " vnaduisedly ouershoot my selfe as to trust  
 " *Mr. Rich*, a man alwaies reputed of me for  
 " one of so little truth and honestie, so farre  
 " aboue my Soueraigne Lord, the king, to  
 " whome I am so deeply indebted for his  
 " manifold fauours, or anie of his noble and  
 " graue Counsellours, that I would declare  
 " only to *Mr. Rich* the secretts of my Con-  
 " science touching the king's Supremacie, the  
 " speciall poynt and onlie marke so long  
 " fought for at my hands; which I neuer did nor  
 " neuer would reucale after the Statute once  
 " made either to the king's highnesse himselfe

“ or to anie of his noble Councillours, as it  
“ is well knowen to your Honours, who haue  
“ bene sent, for no other purpose, at sundrie  
“ seuerall times from his Maiesties person to me  
“ in the tower; I referre it to your iudgements,  
“ my Lords, whether this can seeme a thing  
“ credible to anie of you.

“ And yf I had donne as *Mr. Rich* hath  
“ sworne, seing it was spoken but in familiar  
“ secret talke, affirming nothing, but only in  
“ putting of Cases without anie vnpleasing  
“ circumstances, it cannot justly be taken to  
“ be spoken maliciously, and where there is  
“ no malice, there can be no offence. Be-  
“ sides this, my Lords, I cannot thinke, that  
“ so manie worthie Bishops, so manie honou-  
“ rable personages, and so manie worshippingfull  
“ vertuous and well learned men as were in  
“ the Parlement assembled at the making of  
“ that law, euer meant to haue anie man pu-  
“ nished by death, in whome there could be  
“ found no malice, taking *malitia* for *maleuo-*  
“ *lencia*; for if *malitia* be taken in a generall  
“ signification for anie sinne, no man there is  
“ that can excuse himselfe thereof. Where-  
“ fore this very word *malitiously* is only ma-  
“ terial in this Statute, as the word *forcible* is  
“ in the Statute of *forcible entrie*; for in that  
“ Case if anie enter peaceably and putt his  
“ aduersarie out forcibly, it is no offence;  
“ but if he enter forcibly, he shall be punished  
“ by that Statute.

“ Be-

“ Besides all the vnspeakable goodnesse of  
“ the king's highnesse towards me, who hath  
“ bene so manie wayes my singular good Lord  
“ and gracious Soueraigne, he, I say, who hath  
“ so dearely loued and trusted me, euen from  
“ my first coming into his royall seruice,  
“ vouchsafing to grace me with the dignitie  
“ of being one of his Priuie Councill, and  
“ hath most liberally aduanced me to offices  
“ of great Credit and worshipp, finally with  
“ the chiefe dignitie of his Maiestie's high Chan-  
“ cellour, the like whereof he neuer did to  
“ anie Temporall man before, which is the  
“ highest office in this noble realme, and next  
“ to his royall person, so farre aboue my me-  
“ ritts and qualities, honouring and exalting  
“ me of his incomparable benignitie by the  
“ space of these twentie yeares and aboue,  
“ shewing his continuall fauours towards me,  
“ and now at last it hath pleased his Highnesse at  
“ mine owne humble suite to giue me licence  
“ with his Maiestie's fauour to bestowe the  
“ residue of my life in the seruice of God for  
“ the better prouision of my soule, to dis-  
“ charge and disburthen me of that weightie  
“ dignitie, before which he had still heaped  
“ honours more and more vpon me; all this  
“ his highnesse's bountie so long and so plen-  
“ tiefully powred vpon me, were in my minde  
“ matter sufficient to conuince this slaunde-  
“ rous accusation so wrongfully by this man  
“ surmized and vrged against me, which I  
“ committ to your Lordshipps honourable con-  
sideracions,



“sideracions, whether this oath be likelie or  
“not to be true.”

(a) *Mr. Rich* seing himselfe so euidently to be disproued, and his Creditt so fowlely defaced, caused *Sr. Richard Southwell & Mr. Palmer*, who in the time of their communication were in the same chamber with them two, to be there sworne, what words had passed betweene them. Wherevpon *Mr. Palmer* vpon his deposition sayd, that he was so busie in the thrusting vp of *Sir THOMAS*'s bookes in to a sacke, that he tooke no heede to their talke. *Sr. Richard Southwell* also sayde likewise, that because he was appointed only to looke to the conueying of the bookes, he gaue no care vnto them. And after all this *Sir THOMAS* alleaged manie other reasons in his owne defence to the vtter discredit of *Mr. Rich*'s foresayde euidence, and for prooffe of the clearenesse of his owne Conscience.

4. But for all that euer he could doe or say, the Iurie of Twelue men, whose names were *Sr. Thomas Palmer*, *Sr. Thomas Peirt*, *George Louell* esquier, *Thomas Burbage* esquier, *Geoffrey Chamber* gentleman, *Edward Stockmore* gentleman, *William Browne* gentleman, *Iaspar Leake* gentleman, *Thomas Billington* gentleman, *Iohn Parnel* gentleman, *Richard Bellame* gentleman, *George Stoakes*

(a) *Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More*, p. 51. *Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More*, chap. 14. p. 115.

gentleman.

gentleman. (a) These, I say, going together and staying scarce one quarter of an hower (for they knew what the king would haue donne in that Case) returned with their verdict, Guiltie.

(b) Wherefore the Lo: Chancellour, as Chiefe Iudge in that matter, beganne presently to proceede to Iudgement; which Sir THOMAS hearing, sayd vnto him: "My Lord; " when I was towards the law, the manner in " such cases was, to aske the prisoner before " sentence, whether he could giue anie reason, " why Iudgement should not proceede against " him." Vpon which words the Lo: Chancellour staying his sentence, wherein he had already partly proceeded, asked Sir THOMAS what he was able to say to the contrarie, who forthwith made answer in this sorte: *For as much as, my Lords, this Inditement is grounded vpon an acte of Parlement directly repugnant to the lawes of God and his holie Church, the supreme gouernement of which or of anie parte thereof no Temporal person may by anie law presume to take vpon him, that which*

(a) *Qui cum vocem malitiæ, quæ per totum iudicium personuerat, defixam in auribus animisq; haberent, nullâ interpositâ morâ, ut mirum esset tam cito convenire potuisse, statim pronunciarunt, vocabulo Anglico, Gylte, quod perinde valet, ut si dicas hebreo loquendi more, filius est mortis; Crucifige, crucifige. Regin. Poli pro eccles. unit. defensione, lib. 3. p. 63. fol. 2. See also Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 18. p. 339.*

(b) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 51. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 14. p. 116.

rightfully belongeth to the Sea of Rome, which by speciall prerogatiue was granted by the mouth of our Sauour Christ himself to S. Peter and the Bishops of Rome his successors only; whilst he liued, and was personally present here upon earth; it is therefore amongst Catholike Christians insufficient in law, to charge anie Christian man to obey it. And for prooffe of this sound assertion, he declared amongst manie reasons & sound authorities, that like as this realme alone being but one member and a small parte of the Church, might not make a particular law disagreeing with the generall law of Christ's vniuersall Catholike Church, no more than the Cittie of London being but one member in respect of the whole realme may enact a law against an Act of Parlement, to binde thereby the whole kingdome; So shewed he further that this law was euen contrarie to the laws and statutes of this our realme not yet repealed, as they might evidently see in Magna Charta, where it is sayd, that Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, & habeat omnia iura integra & libertates suas illæfas: And it is contrarie also to that sacred oath, which the king's highnesse himself and euerie other Christian prince always receaue with great sollemnitie at their Coronations. Moreouer he alleaged that this realme of England might worse refuse their obedience to the Sea of Rome, then anie childe might to their naturall father. For as S. Paul sayd to the Corinthians; I haue regenerated you, my children,



dren, in Christ, so might that worthie Pope of Rome S. Gregorie the Great say to vs Englishmen: yee are my Children, because I haue giuen you everlasting saluation; For by S. Augustin and his followers, his immediate messengers, England first receaued the Christian Faith, which is a farre higher and better inheritance, then anie carnall father can leaue to his children; for a sonne is only by generation; we are by regeneration made the spirituall Children of Christ and the Pope.

(a) To these wordes the Lo: Chancellour replied, that seing all the Bishoppes, Vniuersities, and best learned men of this realme had agreed to this Act, it was much marueled that he alone should so stiffely sticke thereat, and so vehemently argue there against it. To which wordes Sir THOMAS answered, that if the number of Bishoppes and vniuersities were so materiall, as his Lordshipp seemeth to make it, then doe I, my Lord, see little cause why that thing in my conscience should make anie change; for I do not doubt but of the learned and vertuous men that are yet alieue, I speake not only of this realme, but of all Christendome about, there are ten to one that are of my minde in this matter; but if I should speake of those learned Doctours and vertuous Fathers, that are alreadie dead, of whome manie are Saints in heauen, I am sure that there are farre more, who all the

(a) Ibid. p. 53, & p. 117.

while they liued, thought in this Case, as I thinke now: And therefore, my Lord, I thinke myself not bound to conformance my conscience to the Councell of one realme against the generall consent of all Christendome.

5. Now when Sir THOMAS had taken as manie exceptions as he thought meete, for the auoyding of this Inditement, and alleaging manie more substantiall reasons, then can be here sett downe, the Lo: Chancellour hauing bethought himselfe, and being loath now to haue the whole burthen of this Condemnation to lye vpon himselfe, asked openly there the aduise of my Lo: Chiefe Iustice of England, Sir Iohn Fitz Iames, whether this Inditement were sufficient or no; who wisely answered thus: "my Lords all, by *S. Gilian* (for that was euer his oath) I must "needes confesse, that if the Act of Parlement "be not vnlawfull, then the Inditement is "not in my conscience insufficient:" An answer like that of the Scribes and Pharises to Pilate: (a) *If this man were not a malefactor, we would neuer haue deliuered him vnto you:* And so with yfs and ands he added to the matter a slender euasion. Vpon whose words my Lo: Chancellour spoke euen as (b) *Caiphas* spoke in the Iewish Councell: *Quid adhuc desideramus testimonium, reus est mortis*, and so presently he pronounced this sentence.

(a) S. John. xviii. 30.

(b) S. Matt. xxvi. 65, 66.

(a) THAT he should be brought back to the Tower of London by the helpe of William Bington Sheriffe, and from thence drawen on a burdle through the Cittie of London to Tyburne, there to be hanged till he be halfe dead, after that cutt downe yet alive, his privie partes cutt of, his bellie ripped, his bowells burnt, and his foure quarters sett up ouer foure gates of the Cittie, his head upon London-bridge.

This was the Iudgement of that worthie man, who had so well deserued both of the king and Countrie; for which (b) *Paulus Iovius* calleth king *Henrie* another *Phalaris*.

The sentence yet was by the king's pardon changed afterwards only into Beheading, because he had borne the greatest office of the realme: of which mercie of the king's, word being brought to Sir THOMAS, he (c) answered merrily: "God forbidde, the king should  
" vse anie more such mercie vnto anie of my  
" friends; and God bleffe all my posteritie  
" from such pardons."

6. (d) When Sir THOMAS had now fully perceaued that he was called to Martyrdome, hauing receaued sentence of death, with a bolde and constant countenance he spoke in

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 18. p. 340. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 14. p. 119.

(b) In Elog. doctorum virorum, tit. 89. *Non male Paulus Iovius Henricum Regem hoc uno facinore Phalaridis æmulum vocat.* Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 18. p. 340.

(c) Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 14. p. 119.

(d) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 18. p. 341.



this manner: *Well, seing I am condemned, God knowes how iustly, I will freely speake for the disburthening of my Conscience, what I thinke of this lawe; When I perceaued that the king's pleasure was to siste out, from whence the Popes authoritie was deriued, I confesse I studyed seauen yeares togeather to finde out the truth thereof; and I could not reade in anie one Doctour's writings, which the Church alloweth, anie one saying that auoucheth, that a lay man was or could euer be the head of the Church.*

To this my Lo: Chancellour againe: Would you be accounted more wise and of more sincere conscience then all the Bishoppes, learned Doctours, Nobilitie and Commons of this realme? To which Sir THOMAS replyed: *I am able to produce against one Bishopp, which you can bring forth of your side, one hundred holie and Catholike Bishoppes for my opinion; and against one realme, the consent of all Christendome for more then a thousand yeares. The Duke of Norfolke hearing this sayd, "Now, Sir THOMAS, you shew your obstinate and malicious minde." To whome Sir THOMAS sayd: Noble Sir, not any malice or obstinacie causeth me to say this, but the iust necessitie of the Cause constrayneth me for the discharge of my Conscience, and I call God to witnesse, no other then this hath moued me herevnto.*

(a) After this the Iudges courteously offered him their fauourable audience, yf he had anie thing else to alleage in his owne defence; who answered most mildely and charitably: *More haue I not to say, my Lords, but that like as the blessed Apostle S. Paul, as wee reade in the Acts of the Apostles, was present and consenting to the death of the protomartyr S. Stephen, keeping their cloathes that stoned him to death, and yet they be now both twaine holie Saints in heauen and there shall continue friends togeather for euer; so I verily trust, and shall, therefore hartily pray, that though your Lordships haue bene on earth my Iudges to condemnation, yet we may hereafter meete in heauen merrily togeather to our euerlasting saluation; and God preserue you all, especially my Soueraigne Lord the king, and graunt him faythfull Councillours; in which prayer he most liuely imitated the example of holie S. Stephen; (b) ne statuas illis hoc peccatum; yea of our Sauour himself speaking on the crosse; (c) Pater, dimitte illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.*

All these of Sir THOMAS his speeches were faithfully deliuered from Sir *Antonie*

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 54. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 14. p. 120. See also Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap 18. p. 342.

(b) Acts vii. 60.

(c) S. Luke xxiii. 34.

*Sentleger, (a) Richard Haywood, and Iohn Webbe* gentlemen, with others more of good credit who were present and heard all, which they reported to my vncle *Rooper*, agreing all in one discourse.

(a) Mr. Roper names him Sir Anthonie Sumtleger; see his *Life of Sir Tho. More*, p. 54. All the speeches mention'd above are not however said by Mr. Roper to have been deliver'd to him by these Gentlemen. Such of 'em as are omitted in his account, our Author seems to have transcrib'd from Dr. Stapleton.

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## C H A P. XI.

The Holy Death and Glorious Martyrdom of  
Sir THOMAS MORE.

1. *The manner how Sir Thomas was led back to the tower from his arraignment; where his sonne publicquely demanded his blessing.*
2. *Mistresse Margaret Roper, his daughters noble and laudable loue to her father Sir Thomas, now condemned.*
3. *How deuoutly and magnanimously Sir T. M. expected his exequution.*
4. *Aduertisement of the day of his death sent him from the king.*
5. *The manner and forme of his glorious death and martyrdom.*
6. *The kings sadnes upon report of his death: with some notable circumstances of his buriall.*
7. *A consideration of the last blessing which he gaue to his heires, and their progenie after them.*
8. *Physiognomy of Sir Thomas More.*

**A**fter his Condemnation (a), he was conducted from the barre to the Tower againe, an axe being carried before him with the edge towards him, and was led by *Sir William Kinston*, a tall, strong, and comelie gentleman, Constable of the Tower, and his

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 19. p. 344. Hodgeson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 122.

verie good friend ; but presently a dolefull spectacle was presented to Sir THOMAS and all the standers by ; for his onlie sonne, my grandfather, like a dutiefull childe, casteth himself at his father's feet, crauing humbly his blessing not without teares, whome he blessed and kissed most louingly, whose loue and obedience Sir THOMAS in a letter praysed, saying, that this his behaviour pleased him greatly (a). When *Sir William* had conducted Sir THOMAS to the Olde Swanne towards the Tower, there he bad him Farewell with a heauie heart, the teares trickeling downe his cheekes : but Sir THOMAS with a stayed grauitie, seing him sorrowfull, beganne to comforte him with chearefull speeches, saying : “ good *Mr. Kinston*, trouble  
 “ not your selfe, but be of good cheare ; for I  
 “ will pray for you, and my good Ladie, your  
 “ wife, that we may meete in heauen togea-  
 “ ther, where we shall be merrie for euer and  
 “ euer.” Soone after this *Sir William* talking hereof, to my vncl *Rooper*, sayd : “ In good  
 “ fayth, *Mr. Rooper*, I was ashamed of my selfe,  
 “ that at our parting I found my hart so weake  
 “ and his so stoute, that he was fayne to com-  
 “ fort me, who should rather at that time  
 “ haue comforted him : but God and the cleare-  
 “ nesse of his Conscience is a comfort, which  
 “ no earthlie prince can give or take a-  
 “ way.”

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 55. Hoddef-  
 son's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 121. seq.

2. (a) When Sir THOMAS was come now to the Tower-wharfe, his best beloued childe my aunte *Rooper*, desirous to see her father, whome she feared she should neuer see in this world after, to haue his last blessing, gaue there attendance to meete him; whome as soone as she had espyed, after she had receaued upon her knees his fatherlie blessing, she ranne hastily vnto him; and without consideration or care of herselfe, passing through the midst of the throng and garde of men, who with billes and halberds compassed him round, there openly in the sight of them all embraced him, tooke him about the neck and kissed him, not able to say anie word, but, *Oh my father, oh my father.* He liking well her most naturall and deare affection towards him, gaue her his fatherlie blessing; telling her, that whatsoeuer he should suffer, though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of God; and that she knew well enough all the secrets of his hart, counselling her to accomodate her will to God's blessed pleasure, and bad her be patient for her losse. She was no sooner parted from him, and gonne ten steppes, when she not satisfied with the former Farewell, like one who had forgotte herselfe, rauished with the intire love of so worthie a father, hauing neither respect to herselfe, nor to the presse of the people about him, suddenly turned backe, and ranne hastily to him,

(4) Ibid. p. 55, and p. 123. Stapleton. Vit. Tho. Mori, cap. 19. p. 344. Regin. Poli pro Eccles. Unit. defensione lib. 3. p. 66.



tooke him about the necke, and diuerse times together kissed him ; whereat he spoke not a word, but carrying still his grauity, teares fell also from his eyes ; yea there were very few in all the troupe, who could refrayne hereat from weeping, no not the garde themselves ; yet at last with a full heauie hart she was seuered from him : at which time *Margarett Gigs* embraced him and kissed him also ; yea mine Aunt's mayde, one *Dorothie Collie*, did the like ; of whome he sayde after, it was homelie, but very loueingly donne : all these, and also his sonne my grandfather witnessed, that they smelt a most odoriferous smell to come from him, according to that of *Isaac* : (a) *Odor filij mei, sicut odor agri pleni, cui benedixit Dominus.*

Oh what a spectacle was this, to see a woman of nature shamefast, by education modest, to expresse such excessiue grieve, as that loue should make her shake off all feare and shame ; which dolefull sight piercing the harts of all beholders, how do you thinke it moued her father's ? (b) surely his affection and forcible loue, would have daunted his courage, if that a diuine spiritt of constancie had not inspired him to beholde this most generous woman, his most worthie daughter, endewed with all good gifts of nature, all sparkes of pietie, which are wont to be most acceptable to a louing father, to presse vnto him at such a time and place, where

(a) Gen. xxvii. 27.

(b) Vide Regin. Poli Cardin. Britan. pro Eccles. Unit. defensione, lib, 3. p. 66.

no man could haue accessse, hanging about his necke before he perceaued, holding so fast by him as she could scarce be plucked of, not vttering anie other words, but *oh my father*; what a sword was this to his hart, and at last, being drawen away by force, to runne vpon him againe without anie regarde, either of the weapons wherewith he was compassed, or of the modestye becoming her own sexe: what comforte did he want? what courage did he then stande in neede of? and yet he resisted all this most couragiously, remitting nothing of his steadie grauitie, speaking only that which we haue recited before, and at last desiring her to pray for her father's soule.

This and other his heroicall actes made Cardinall *Poole* (a) write thus of him:

“ Strangers and men of other nations, that  
 “ neuer had seene him in their liues, receaued  
 “ so much grieve at the hearing of his death,  
 “ reading the storie thereof, they could not re-  
 “ frayne from weeping, bewayling an vn-  
 “ knowne person only famous unto them for  
 “ his worthie acts: Yea, saith he, I cannot

(a) *Cum videam alienissimos etiam homines, qui eum nunquam noverant, nunquam ab eo beneficium acceperant, tantum dolorem ex ejus morte accepisse, ut cum qua de eâ re scripta circumferuntur legerent, lacrimas tenere non potuerint, — neq; aliâ re quam famâ sibi noto illachrimaverint. Ac mihi plane tanto intervallo hæc de illius morte scribenti, qui non tam multas privatim amoris causas cum eo habui, sed virtutis potius & probitatis ergo, quodq; patriâ utilissimum esse scirem, cum amavi et colui, sic tamen (testis est mihi Deus) invito lacryma oboriebantur, ut scriptiorem maxime impedirent, et ipsas sæpe litteras delerent, ut vix ultra progredi possem. Regin. Poli Card. Britan. pro Eccles. unit. defens. lib. 3. p. 66. fol. 2. Vide Stapleton. cap. 19. p. 346.*

“ holde

" holde myselfe from weeping as I write,  
 " though I be farre of my countrie ; I loued  
 " him dearely, who had not so manie vrgent  
 " causes of his loue, as manie others had, only  
 " in respect of his vertues and heroicall acts,  
 " for which he was a most necessarie mem-  
 " ber of his Countrie ; and now God is my  
 " wittnesse, I shed for him, euen whether I  
 " would or no, so manie teares, that they  
 " hinder me from writing, and often blot  
 " out the letters quite, which I am framing,  
 " that I can proceed no farther."

3. (a) So remained this vnconquerable Con-  
 querour of the flesh, the world, and the diuell  
 some seuenight after his Iudgement, in the  
 Tower, (b) arming himself with prayer, medi-  
 tation, and manie holie mortifications, for the  
 day of his Martyrdome, and walking about his  
 chamber with a sheete about him, like a corps  
 ready to be buried, and vsing to whippe himselfe  
 very sore and long.

(c) In this meane time and space came to  
 him a light headed Courtier, talking of no se-  
 rious matter, but only vrging him this, that he  
 would change his minde ; and being wearied  
 with his importunitie, he answered him, that he  
 had changed it ; who presently went and tolde  
 the king thereof ; and being by him commaun-  
 ded to knowe, wherein his minde was changed,

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 55.

(b) Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 125.  
 See also Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 20. p. 352.

(c) Ibid. & Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 16. p. 322.



Sir THOMAS rebuked him for his lightnesse in that he would tell the king everie worde that he spoke in ieast, meaning, that whereas he had purposed to be shauen, that he might seem to others as he before was wont, now he was fully minded, that his beard should take such parte, as his head did; which made the fellow blanke, and the king verie angrie.

In this while also he wrote a most kinde letter vnto *Mr. Antonie Bonuise*, an Italian marchante, in Latine, calling him the halfe of his hart; which is to be secne among his other letters (a). Last of all, the day before he was to suffer, being the Fifth of Iuly, he wrote a most louing letter with a coale, to his daughter *Margaret*, sending therein his blessing to all his children, in which he writeth verry affectionately; yet he knew nothing of his death as then; in these words: *I cumber thee, daughter Margaret, very much; but I would be sorrie, that it should be anie longer then to morrow; for to morrow is S. Thomas of Canterbury's eeuie, and the vtas of S. Peter; and therefore to morrow I long to go to God; it were a day very meete and conuenient. I neuer liked your manner towards me better, then when you kissed me last. For I like when daughterlie loue, and deare charitie haue noe leasure to looke vnto worldlie courtesie. Farewell, deare daughter, pray for me, and I*

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 55. seq. Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 19. pag. 347. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 126.

will pray for you and all your friends, that we may meet togeather in heauen. Commend me, when you can, to my sonne Iohn; his towardlie carriage towards me pleased me very much. God blesse him, and his good wife, and their children, Thomas, (who was my father) and Augustine, (who died unmarried) and all that they shall haue. In which words I hope by God's helpe to haue some parte of his blessing. But oh good God! *voluntate labiorum eius non fraudasti eum*. For vpon the caue of his speci- all patron, and the vtas of *S. Peter*, for whose supremacie he suffered martyrdome, God heard his petition, and he suffered death that very day most couragiously. (a) Togeather with this letter he sent also vnto her his shirt of hayre, and his whippe, as one that was loath to haue the world knowe that he used such austeritie. For he cunningly, all his life time, had with his mirth hidden from the eyes of others his seuerer mortifications; and now hauing finished his combatt, he sent away his weapons, not being certaine of anie notice of the king's minde, but either taught by reuelation, or hauing a firme confidence of God's great goodnesse, & *desiderium cordis tribuit ei Dominus*.

4. (b) For vpon the next Morning being Tuesday the sixt of Iuly there came vnto him

(a) Mr. Roper in his Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 55. makes mention only of the Shirt of Hair, without taking any notice of the Whip. But Stapleton speaks of both. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 19. p. 351.

(b) Mr. Roper in his Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 56. Hodgesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 127.

Sir

*Sir Thomas Pope* uery carely in the morning, his singular good friend, with a message from the king and the Councell, that he was to suffer death on that day before nine of the clocke, and therefore he should forthwith prepare himselfe thereto. “ *Mr. Pope*, saith he, I most hartily  
 “ thanke you for your good tydings: I haue  
 “ bene much bound to the king’s highnesse for  
 “ the benefitts and honours that he hath most  
 “ bountiefully bestowed vpon me, yet am I  
 “ more bound to his Grace, I assure you, for  
 “ putting me here, where I haue had con-  
 “ uenient time and space to haue remembrance  
 “ of my ende. And so helpe me God, most  
 “ of all I am bound vnto him, that it pleaseth  
 “ his maiestie to ridde me so shortly out of  
 “ the miseries of this wretched world.” The  
 king’s pleasure further is, sayd *Sir Thomas Pope*, that you vse not manie words at your execution. “ *Mr. Pope*, answered he, you  
 “ doe well to giue me warning of the king’s  
 “ pleasure, for otherwise I had purposed at that  
 “ time somewhat to haue spoken; but no  
 “ matter, wherewith his Grace, or anie other  
 “ should haue cause to be offended; howbeit,  
 “ whatsoeuer I intended, I am readie obedi-  
 “ ently to conformance myself to his Highnesse’s  
 “ commaunde: And I beseech you, good *Mr.*  
 “ *Pope*, be a meanes to his Maiestie, that my  
 “ daughter *Margarett* may be at my buriall.”  
 “ The king is contented already,” sayd he,  
 “ that your wife, Children, and other your  
 “ friends should haue libertie to be present



"at it." "Oh how much am I beholding  
 "to his Grace, that vouchsafeth to haue so  
 "much consideration of my poore buriall."  
 Then *Sir Thomas Pope* taking his leaue of  
 him, could not refrayne from weeping. Which  
*Sir THOMAS* perceauing, comforted him in  
 these wordes: "Quiett yourselfe, *Mr. Pope*,  
 "and be not discomforted; for I trust we  
 "shall once see each other full merrily, where  
 "we shall be sure to liue and loue togeather  
 "in eternall blisse." (a) And further, to putt  
 him out of his melancholie, *Sir THOMAS*  
*MORE* tooke his vrinall in his hand, and cast-  
 ing his water, sayd merrily: "I see no dan-  
 "ger but this man may liue longer, yf it had  
 "pleased the king."

After which words they parted; and when  
 he was gone, *Sir THOMAS*, as one that had  
 bene inuited to a solemne bankett, changed  
 himselfe into his best apparrell (b), and putt  
 on his filke Chamlett gowne, which his intire  
 friend *Mr. Antonie Bonuise* (a noble Cittizen  
 of the State of *Luca* in *Italie*, to whome  
 he wrote the letter as is late spoken of be-  
 fore) gaue him, whilst he was in the Tower.  
*Mr. Lieutenant* seing him prepare himselfe so  
 to his death, counsell'd him, for his owne be-  
 nefitt, to putt them of againe, saying, that he  
 who should haue them, was but a Iauill.

(a) Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 128.

(b) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 20. p. 353. See also  
*Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More*, p. 57. and Hoddesdon's  
*Hist. of Sir Tho. More*, chap. 15. pag. 128.

"What

“ What, Mr. Lieutenant, sayd Sir THOMAS,  
 “ shall I accounte him a Iauill, who will doe  
 “ me this day so singular a benefitt. Nay, I  
 “ assure you, were it cloth of golde I would  
 “ thinke it well bestowed on him. For *S. Cy-*  
 “ *prian*, that famous Bishop of *Carthage*, gaue  
 “ his executioner thirtie pieces of golde, be-  
 “ cause he knewe he should procure vnto him  
 “ an vnspeakable good turne.” Yet for all  
 this Mr. Lieutenant so pressed him, that at last  
 being loath for friendshipps sake to denye him  
 so small a matter, he altered his gowne, and  
 putt on a gowne of Frieze; but yet he sent of  
 that little mony which was left him, one Angell  
 of golde to the hangman, in token that he  
 maliced him nothing, but rather loued him  
 exceedingly for it.

5. He was therefore brought about nine  
 of the clocke by Mr. Lieutenant out of the  
 Tower, his beard being long, which fashion  
 he neuer had before vsed, his face pale and  
 leane, carrying in his hands a read Crosse, cast-  
 ing his eyes often towards heauen. (a) As  
 he thus passed by a good woman's house, she  
 came forth and offered him a cuppe of wine,  
 which he refused saying: “ Christ at his passion  
 “ drunke no wine, but gall and vinagar.”  
 There came another woman after him crying  
 vnto him for certaine bookes, which she had  
 giuen into his custodie, when he was Lo:  
 Chancellour. To whome he sayd; “ Good

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 20. p. 353.

“ woman, haue patience but for one hower’s  
“ space, and by that time the king’s Maiestie  
“ will ridde me of the care I haue for thy pa-  
“ pers and all other matters whatsoeuer.” Ano-  
ther woman suborned thereto, as some thinke,  
by his aduersaries to disgrace him, followed  
him also crying out against him, that he had  
donne her great iniurie, when he had bene  
Lo: Chancellour: to whome he gaue the an-  
swer, “ that he remembred her cause very  
“ well; and that if he were now to giue sen-  
“ tence thereof, he would not alter what he  
“ had already donne.”

Last of all there came a Cittizen of *Win-  
chester*, who in times past hauing bene greately  
troubled with grievous temptations of de-  
spayre, was brought by a friend of his to Sir  
THOMAS MORE, when he was Lo: Chancel-  
lour; who though he could not before by  
anie holesome counsell alter this his minde;  
yet Sir THOMAS MORE promising him to pray  
for him, he was for the space of three yeares  
free from all such temptations. When Sir  
THOMAS was committed, and he could gett  
no leaue to haue acceffe vnto him, his tempta-  
tions grew so greate, that he often sought to  
haue bene the cruell murderer of himselfe;  
but now hearing Sir THOMAS was to be exe-  
cuted, he came to *London*, and ranne to Sir  
THOMAS, as he was carryed to execution, de-  
siring him with great earnestnesse that he would  
helpe him by his praiers: for his temptation  
was come againe vnto him, and he could not  
possibly



possibly ridde himself thereof; to whome Sir THOMAS spake thus: "goe and praye for me, " and I will carefully pray for you." He went away with confidence, and he neuer after was troubled with the like againe.

(a) Being now brought to the scaffolde, whereon he was to be beheaded, it seemed to him so weake that it was readie to fall, wherefore he sayd merrily to Mr. Lieutenant, "I pray you, Sir, see me safe vp, and for my coming downe lett me shift for my selfe." When he beganne to speake a little to the people, which were in great troopes there to heare and see him, he was interrupted by the Sheriffe. Wherefore briefly he desired all the people to pray for him, and to beare wittnesse with him, that he there dyed in and for the fayth of the holie Catholike Church, a faythfull seruant both of God and the king. Having spoken but this, he kneeled downe, and pronounced with great deuotion the *Miserere* psalme; which being ended, he chearefully rose vp; and the executioner asking him for giuenesse, he kissed him, saying: "Thou wilt doe me this day a greater benefitt then euer anie mortall man can be able to giue me; pluck vp thy spiritt man, and be not afrayed to do thy office; my neck is very short; take heede therefore that thou strike not awry, for sauing thy honestie." When the execu-

(a) Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 57. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 20. p. 353. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 129.

tioner would haue couered his eyes, he sayd ;  
 " I will couer them myselfe ; " and presently  
 he did so, with a cloath that he had brought  
 with him for the purpose : then laying his head  
 vpon the blocke, he bad the executioner stay  
 vntill he had remoued aside his beard, saying ;  
 " that that had neuer committed anie treason." So  
 with great alacritie and spirituall ioy, he  
 receaued the fatall blow of the axe, which no  
 sooner had seuered the head from the bodie,  
 but his soule was carryed by Angels into euer-  
 lasting glorie, where a Crowne of martyrdom  
 was putt vpon him, which can neuer fade nor  
 decay. And then he found those words true,  
 which he had often spoken ; that a man may  
 leese his head and haue no harme, yea I say,  
 vnspeakeable good and endlesse happinesse.

6. (a) When news of his death was brought  
 to the king, who was at that time play-  
 ing at tables, Anne Bullen looking on, he  
 cast his eye vpon her and sayd : thou art the  
 cause of this man's death ; and presently leau-  
 ing his play he betooke himself to his cham-  
 ber, and therevpon fell into a fitt of melanco-  
 lie ; but whether this were from his hart, or  
 to seeme lesse cruell then he was indeede, I  
 can hardly coniecture ; for on the one side  
 the remembrance of his faythfull seruice, so ma-  
 nie yeares employed for the whole realme's  
 benefitt, could not but make the king sorrow-

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 20. p. 356. Hodges-  
 don's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 130.

full; and on the other side, the vnmerciefull dealing with his sonne and heyre, his small allowance to his wife, his pittielesse crueltie against all his children, sheweth that he had an implacable hatred against him, because that he would not consent vnto his lustfull courses; of which we will speake more largely, when we haue discoursed of his buriall. His head was putt vpon *London-bridge*, where as trayters heads are sett vp vpon poles; his bodie was buried in the Chappell of *S. Peter*, which is in the Tower in the bellfrie, or as some say, as one entreth into the vestry, neare vnto the bodie of the holie Martyr Bishopp *Fisher*, who being putt to death iust a fortnight before, had small respect donne vnto him all this while.

(a) But that which happened about Sir THOMAS winding sheete, was reported as a miracle by my aunte *Rooper*, M.<sup>rs</sup> *Clement*, *Dorothie Colly*, Mr. *Harrys* his wife. Thus it was; his daughter *Margarett*, hauing distributed all her monie to the poore, for her father's soule, when she came to burie his bodie at the tower, she had forgotten to bring a sheete; and there was not a penny of monie left amongst them all: wherefore M.<sup>rs</sup> *Harrys* her mayde went to the next Drapers shoppe, and agreing vpon the price, made as though she would looke for some monie in her purse, and then try whether they would trust her or no; and she found

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Tho. Mori, cap. 20. p. 357. seq.



in her purse the same summe, for which they agreed vpon, not one penny ouer or vnder; though she knew before certainly, that she had not one Crosse about her. This the same *Dorothie* affirmed constantly to Doctour *Stapleton*, when they both liued at *Doway* in *Flanders* in *Q. Elizabeth's* raigne. His shirt, wherein he suffered, all embrued with his bloud, was kept very carefully by Doctour *Clement's* wife, liuing also beyond the seas, as also his shirt of hayre. His head hauing remayned some moneths vpon *London-bridge*, being to be cast into the *Thames*, because roome should be made for diuerse others, who in plentiefull sorte suffered martyrdom for the same Supremacie, shortly after, it was bought by his daughter *Margarett*, least (as she stoutly affirmed before the Councell, being called before them after for the same matter) it should be foode for fishes; which she buried, where she thought fittest; it was very well to be known, as well by the liuelie fauour of him, which was not all this while in anie thing almost diminished; as also by reason of one tooth, which he wanted whilst he liued; herein it was to be admired, that the hayres of his head being almost gray before his Martyrdome, they seemed now as it were readish or yellow.

His glorious Martyrdome, and his death, strengthened manie to suffer couragiously for the same cause, because he was an eminent man both for dignitie, learning, and vertues; so that Doctour *Stapleton* boldly affirmeth, that

he was wonderfully both admired and sought to be imitated by manie, as he himself had heard, when he came first to the yeares of vnderstanding and discretion. And truly *German Gardiner*, an excellent learned and holie lay man coming to suffer death for the same Supremacie some eight yeares after, auouched at his ende before all the people, that the holie simplicitie of the blessed Carthusians, the wonderfull learning of the Bishopp of *Rochester*, and the singular wisdome of Sir THOMAS MORE, had stirred him vp to that courage; but the rest seemed not so much to be imitated of lay men, being all belonging to the Clergie, as this famous man, being clog'd with wife and children. Yea his death so wrought in the minde of Doctour *Learcke* his owne Parish-priest, that he following the example of his owne sheepe, afterwards suffered a most famous Martyrdome for the same cause of Supremacie.

7. Thus haue we according to our poore Talent laboured to sett downe briefly the life and death of Sir THOMAS MORE, my most famous great Grandfather; whose prayers and intercessions I daily craue both for my selfe and all my little ones, who are also parte of his charge, because he gaue them his blessing, in his most affectionate letter, viz: God blesse *Thomas* and *Augustine*, and all that they shall haue, immediate or mediate; those which they shall haue *vsque ad mille generationes*. This hath bene our comfort, that the tryall thereof

thereof hath bene euidently shewed in that *Edward, Thomas*, and *Bartholomew*, my father's bretheren, being borne after Sir THOMAS my great Grandfather's death, and hauing not this blessing so directly, as my father and my vn- cle *Augustine* had, they haue both degenera- ted from that religion and those manners, which Sir THOMAS MORE had left as it were a happie *depositum* vnto his Children and fa- milie. For although mine vn- cle *Bartholomew* dyed yong of the plague in *London*, and therefore might haue by the grace of God excuse and remorse at his ende; yet *Thomas* the yonger's courses were farre different from all the rest; for he liued and dyed a profes- sed minister, and for all that, very poore, bringing vp his children, whereof his eldest sonne is yet liuing, in no commendable pro- fession. As for mine vn- cle *Edward*, who is yet aliue, although he were endowed with excellent gifts of nature, as a readie witt, toung at will, and his penne glibbe; yet, God knowes, he hath drowned all his Talents in selfe conceipt, in no worthie qualities, and be- sides is buried aliue in obscuritie, for his for- saking God, and for his base behauiour. My father only right heyre of his father and Grandfather, though he not long enioyed a- nie of their Lands, was a liuelie patterne vn- to vs of his constant fayth, his worthie and vpright dealings, his true Catholike simplici- tie, of whome I haue a purpose to discourse vnto my children more at large, that they



may knowe, in what hard times he liued, and how manfully he sustayned the combarr, which his father and Grandfather had left vnto him as their best inheritance: For all their land was taken away by two acts of Parlement immediately after Sir THOMAS's death; the one Acte was to take away the lande, which the king had giuen him, and this was somewhat tolerable; the other most violent and tyrannicall, to frustrate vtterly a most prouident Conueyance, which Sir THOMAS had made of all his lands and inheritance, which he had settled vpon my father, being a childe of two yeares olde or more, without anie fraude or couin, euen when as yet no Statute had bene made about the Oath of Supremacie; and therefore before Sir THOMAS could committ such a faulte against such a Statute, much lesse Treason, hauing reserued to himself only an estate for tearme of his life; yet all this was taken away contrarie to all order of lawe, and ioyned to the Crowne: but that land, which he had conueyed to my vncl *Rooper*, and mine aunte for tearme of their liues in recompence of their marriage monie, that they kept still, because that was donne two daies before the first Conueyance. The ladie *More* also, his wife, was turned out of her house at *Chelsey* immediately, and all her goods taken from her, the king allotting her of his mercie a pension of twentie pounds by the yeare; a poor allowance to maintaine a  
 Lo: Chancellour's Ladie. My grandfather was

com-

committed also to the Tower, and for denying the same Oath, was condemned; yet because they had sufficiently fleeced him before, and could now gett no more by his death, he gott at last his pardon and libertie, but liued not manie yeares after, leauing my father to the education of his mother, called before her marriage *Anne Cresacre*, the last of her familie, by whose match he enioyed after a competent liuing to keepe him out of needie life. Mine aunte *Rooper*, because she was a woman, was not so hardly dealt withall, but only threatened very sore, both because she kept her father's head for a relike, and that she meant to sett her father's workes in printe, yet for all that after a short imprisonment she was at last sent home to her husband. Thus all his friends felt in parte the king's heauie anger for his vndaunted courage.

8. (a) Sir THOMAS was of a meane stature, well proportioned, his complexion tending to phlegmatike, his coulour white and pale, his hayre neither black nor yellow, but betweene both; his eies gray, his countenance amiable and chearefull, his voyce neither bigg nor shrill, but speaking plainely and distinctly; it was not very tunable, though he delighted much in musike, his bodie reasonable healthfull; only that towards his latter ende by vsing much writing, he complained much of

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, chap. 20. p. 361. Hoddefson's Hist. of Sir Tho. More. chap. 15. p. 131.

the ache of his breast. In his youth he drunke much water; wine he only tasted of when he pledged others; he loued salte meates, especially powdered beefe, milke, cheefe, eggs and fruite; and vsually he eate of corse browne bread, which it may be he rather vsed to punish his taste, then for anie loue he had thereto; for he was singular wise to deceaue the world with mortifications, only contenting himselfe with the knowledge which God had of his actions: & *pater eius, qui erat in abscondito, reddidit ei.*

C H A P.



## C H A P. XII.

The Iudgement which all nations made of the death of Sir THOMAS MORE.

1. *Cardinall Pooles lamentation upon his death,* 2. *Erasmus of Rotterdam in Holland.* 3. *Doctour Iohn Cochlaeus of Germanie.* 4. *Paulus Iouius, Bishop, in Italy.* 5. *William Paradin a learned historian of France.* 6. *Iohn Riuus a learned Protestant.* 7. *Charles the fift, Emperour; and King of Spaine.* 8. *Circumstances worthe ponderacion, in his death.* 9. *An apology for his mery apophthegmes and pleasaunt conceits.* 10. *The first lay man martyred for defence of ecclesiasticall iurisdiction.*

1. **N**OW lett vs see, what most of the learned men of Christendome, not only Catholikes, but euen Protestants, thought and wrote of king *Henrie* for Sir THOMAS MORE's death, who were not likelie, being free from all partialitie, but to speake their mindes sincerely, not fearing him as his subiects, nor hating him for anie priuate respects. First, Cardinall *Pole*, then liuing in the Courte of *Rome*, and writing to the king  
in

in the defence of Ecclesiasticall vnitie, (a)  
 sayth thus by the figure of Apostrophe, of the  
 complaints of other men: " Thy father, Oh  
 " England, thy ornament, thy defence, was  
 " brought to his death, being innocent in thy  
 " sight; by birth, thy childe; by condition,  
 " thy Cittizen, but thy father for the manie  
 " benefits donne vnto thee; for he shewed  
 " more euident signes of his fatherlie loue

(a) The Cardinal addressses himself to the City of London, and not to England, as our Author transcribing from Stapleton has by mistake asserted, in the following terms;  
*At tuus tum pater, tuus, inquam, si hoc forte ignoras, parens, tuum decus, tuum columen, in conspectu tuo innocens ad supplicium ducebatur, tuus quidem naturâ filius, conditione ciuis, verum beneficiis pater, qui plura paterni in te animi signa ediderat, quam ullus unquam indulgentissimus pater in unicum et charissimum filium; sed nullâ re magis se tibi parentem ostendit, quam ipso exitu, qui tuâ præcipuè causâ, ne salutem tuam proderet, vitam amiserit. Quare si quod in historiis Græcorum de Socrate legitur, quem iniquo apud Athenienses iudicio circumuentum, ut nunc apud te Morum, morte affectum esse constat; cum aliquanto post in theatro, quo populus ad spectacula conuenerat, ex tragoediâ quâdam recitaretur, interfecistis, interfecistis, virum omnium Græcorum optimum; Statim ad illa verba tam acerbam recordationem cadis Socratis omnium animos subiisse, ut quamvis poeta, cum illa scriberet, nihil minus quam de Socrate cogitasset, ita tamen misericordiâ commoverentur, ut totum theatrum gemitu et lacrimis completeretur, ex quo paulo post populi iussu fit in authores mortis questum, et qui inveniri potuerint, occisi sint, reliqui exilio mulctati, statua etiam Socratis publicè in foro proposita. Si igitur causam illi habuerunt, cur eodem tempore et iusto odio in authores sceleris et misericordia in hominem innocentissimum ac virtutibus clarissimum incenderentur, cum illa, qua modo dixi, verba in theatro recitarentur, quanto nunc iustiore et odio et misericordiâ commoveri debes, ciuitas Londinensis, qua eadem illa verba, non domi in theatro tuo semel ab aliquo histrione casu prolata, sed omnibus jam Christiani nominis locis, à gravissimis viris, tum cum maxime serio loquuntur, tibi sæpius exprobrata, excipere cogeris, interfecistis, interfecistis, hominem omnium Anglorum optimum. Regim. Poli Card. Brit. pro Eccles. unit. defens. lib. 3. p. 66, 67. Vide etiam Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 21. p. 361.*

" towards

" towards thee, then euer anie louing father  
 " hath exprested to his onlie and truly belo-  
 " ued childe; yet in nothing hath he more de-  
 " clared his fatherlie affection, then by his  
 " ende, for that he left his life for thy sake;  
 " especially least he should ouerthrowe and  
 " betray thy saluation. Wherefore that which  
 " we reade in the ancient stories of *Greece*,  
 " as touching *Socrates*, whome the *Atheni-*  
 " *ans* condemned most vniustly to take poy-  
 " son, so thou hast now seene thy *Socrates*  
 " beheaded before thine eies; a while after  
 " his death when in a playe there was recited  
 " out of a Tragedie these wordes: You haue  
 " slayne, you haue slayne the best man of all  
 " *Greece*. Vpon these their words euerie man  
 " so lamented the death of *Socrates*, calling  
 " to minde that iniustice, although the Poet  
 " himselfe dreamed least of him, that the  
 " whole theater was filled with nothing else,  
 " but teares and howling, for which cause the  
 " people presently reuenged his death, by  
 " punishing grieuously the chiefe authors there-  
 " of; those that were of them to be found,  
 " were putt to death presently, and they that  
 " could not be found out, were banished.  
 " There was also a statua erected in his ho-  
 " nour, in the verie markett place. Yf they  
 " therefore at the only hearing of these wordes  
 " vpon the stage tooke an occasion to be re-  
 " uenged of that most innocent man's slaugh-  
 " ter; what more iust cause mayst thou, *Lon-*  
 " *don*, haue of compassion and reuenge, hear-  
 " ing



“ing the like words to these, not pronoun-  
 “ced only by anie stage-player at home, but  
 “by most graue and reuerende men in all  
 “places of Christendome, when as they speake  
 “most seriously, exprobrating often vnto thee  
 “thine ingratitude, and saying: You haue  
 “slayne, you haue slayne the best English-man  
 “aliue.” This spoke this learned and wise  
 Cardinall, who could testifie this of his know-  
 ledge, by reason he conuersed often with the  
 greatest States of Christendome, being a man  
 famous amongst them for his nobilitie of bloud,  
 for his dignitie, his learning and excellent ver-  
 tues, for which none haue cause to suspecte  
 him to be partiall.

2. *Erasmus* (as may be easily guessed by the  
 stile) although he wrote it not in his owne  
 name, because he had then manie friends in  
 England (a), sayth thus: “This is evident,  
 “that

(a) In a Book printed at Antwerp in 1536. entitul'd,  
*Expositio fidelis de morte Thoma Mori.* The said Book was  
 afterwards printed at Basil by Episcopus in 1563. and ad-  
 dressed by the Author to Philippus Montanus, under the  
 feign'd name of G. Courinus Nucetinus, as we learn from  
 Dr. Stapleton, in his Life of Sir Tho. More, cap. 21. p. 363.  
*Illud satis constat Morum et Rossensem nullâ in Regem malevolen-  
 tiâ peccasse, sed simplici sincerâq; conscientiâ (si errauerunt) errasse.  
 Hoc sibi penitus persuaserant, hoc medullitus infixum habebant,  
 sanctum, pium, Regi honorificum, regno salutare esse quod tueban-  
 tur. Silere cupiebant, si licuisset; sed patienter placideq; mortem  
 exceperant, Regi regnoque bene precantes. At in atrocibus etiam cri-  
 minibus magnam culpa partem excusat simplex ac pura conscientia  
 animusq; non iadendi, sed bene merendi, cupidus. Tum apud ef-  
 feras etiam nationes frequenter eximia virtuti præstantique doctrina  
 honor est habitus. Platoni, apud Æginetas juxta civitatis constituta-  
 tionem capite plectendo, profuit Philosophi cognomen. Diogenes im-*

“ that neither MORE nor the Bishopp of Ro-  
 “ chester erred (yf they haue erred at all) of  
 “ any malice they had against the king, but  
 “ for sincere conscience sake: This they per-  
 “ swaded themselues wholly, this was infixed  
 “ in their marrowes, that the matter which  
 “ they defended, was good and lawfull and  
 “ honourable for the king, and holesome for

*pune penetravit in castra Philippi regis Macedonum, ad quem pro exploratore adductus liberè exprobravit Regi insaniam, qui non contentus suo regno semet conjiceret in periculum, ne perderet omnia. Non impune tantum, sed etiam cum munere, dimissus est, non ob aliud nisi quod esset Philosophus. Quemadmodum Monarcharum in eruditos benignitas plurimum honesti nominis illis conciliat, ita durius tractati plurimum invidia constant illis. Quis nunc non execratur Antonium, qui Ciceronem ferro peremit? Quis non detestatur Neronem, qui Senecam occiderit? Nec minimum gratia decessit Octavii Caesaris nomini, qui Ovidium apud Getas relegavit. Quum Rex Galliarum Ludovicus XII. regnum adeptus pararet divortium cum Ludovici Regis XI. filia, res displicuit quibusdam bonis, ex quibus Joannes Standock, et hujus discipulus Thomas, in concione nihil aliud dixerunt, nisi Deum orandum esse, ut Regi inspiraret bonum consilium. Quæ apud populum dicuntur ad seditionem spectant; Et hi deliquerant adversus Regis edictum; Rex tamen nihil aliud quam vertere solum jussit, nec quicquam ademit facultatum. At idem, negotio quod agebat confecto, eos revocabat. Hæc moderatione Rex ille et suo consuluit instituto, et gravem invidiam evitavit; quod uterq; esset Theologus, uterq; sanctitatis opinione commendatus. At Thoma Mori mortem deplorant et ii, quorum instituto pro viribus adversabatur. Tantus erat hominis in omnes candor, tanta comitas, tantaque benignitas. Quem ille vel mediocriter eruditum ab se dimisit indonatum? Aut quis fuit tam alienus, de quo non studuerit bene mereri? Multi non favent nisi suis, Galli Gallis, Germani Germanis, Scoti Scotis. At ille in Hibernos, in Gallos, in Germanos, in Scotos amico fuit animo. Hæc naturæ benignitas sic Morum omnium animis penitus infixit, ut non secus ac parentem aut fratrem plorent extinctum. Ipse vidi multorum lacrymas, qui nec viderant Morum, nec ullo officio fuerant ab eo affecti. Ac mihi quoq; dum hæc scribo, nolenti ac repugnanti lacryma prosiliunt. Quot egregias animas vulneravit illa securis, quæ Mori caput amputavit?*

“ all

" all the whole kingdome : Yf it had bene  
 " lawfull for them to haue difsembled it, they  
 " would haue donne it willingly ; but they  
 " tooke their death moſt patiently and peace-  
 " ably, praying to God for the king and the  
 " whole realme's ſafetie. In haynous offences,  
 " a ſimple and pure conſcience, and a minde  
 " not deſirous of hurting anie, but of well  
 " deſeruing, excuſeth much the faulte ; beſides  
 " due reſpect and honour hath bene alwaies  
 " had, euen amongſt barbarous nations, to  
 " eminent learning and excellent vertue. The  
 " verie name of a philoſopher reſcued *Plato*  
 " from being beheaded by the *Aeginetes*,  
 " hauing tranſgreſſed the lawes of their Citie.  
 " *Diogenes*, without anie fear, came into *Phi-*  
 " *lipp* king of *Macedonia's* armie, and being  
 " brought before him for a ſpye of their ene-  
 " mies, freely reproched the king to his face  
 " of madneſſe, that being not content with his  
 " owne kingdome, he would caſt himſelfe in-  
 " to danger to leeſe all ; yet was he ſent a-  
 " way without anie harm at all donne to him :  
 " and not only ſo, but had a great rewarde  
 " giuen him for no other cauſe, but that he  
 " was a philoſopher. And as the courteſies of  
 " Monarches ſhewed vnto learned men, doe  
 " gett them greate fame, ſo to haue vſed ſuch  
 " men hardly, hath bene occaſion, that they  
 " haue bene much hated and enuied. For who  
 " doth not hate *Antonie*, for hauing *Cicero's*  
 " head cutt off ? who doth not deteſt *Nero*  
 " for putting *Seneca* to death ; yea *Oſtavius*  
 " incur-



“ incurred some infamie for *Ouid's* bannish-  
“ ment amongst the *Getes*. When *Lewis*  
“ the Twelue of France now being peace-  
“ ably settled in his kingdom, would haue  
“ bene diuorced from his wife, the daughter  
“ of *Lewis* the eleauenth, this matter dis-  
“ pleased manie good men; and amongst them  
“ *John Standock*, and his schollar *Thomas*,  
“ spake of it in a sermon, desiring the people  
“ to pray to God, that he would inspire the  
“ king to doe for the best; they were there-  
“ fore accused of sedition, as men that had  
“ committed a faulte against the king's Edict;  
“ yet for all this they had no other punishment  
“ but banishment; they kept and enioyed all  
“ their goods, and when the controuerxies  
“ were ended, they were called home againe  
“ with honour; by this his mildnesse, the king  
“ both satisfied his Edict, and gott no greate  
“ hatred for molesting two men, both Diuines,  
“ both accounted holie men. But euerie man  
“ bewayleth the death of SIR THOMAS MORE,  
“ euen they who are aduersaries vnto him for  
“ religion; so great was his courtesie to all  
“ men, so great his affabilitie, so excellent  
“ was his nature. Whome did he euer sende  
“ away from him, yf he were anie thing learn-  
“ ed, without gifts? or who was so great a  
“ stranger vnto him, to whome he did not seeke  
“ to doe one good turne or other? Manie  
“ are fauourable only to their owne countrie-  
“ men; Frenchmen to Frenchmen, Scottishe  
“ men to Scotts. This his bountie hath so

“ engraue MORE in euerie man’s hart, that  
 “ they all lamente his death, as the losse of  
 “ their owne father or brother ; I myselfe haue  
 “ seen manie teares come from those men,  
 “ who neuer saw MORE in their liues, nor  
 “ neuer receaued anie benefitt from him ; yea  
 “ whilst I write these things, teares gush from  
 “ me, whether I will or no. How manie  
 “ soules hath that axe wounded, which cutt  
 “ of *More’s* head ? &c.” And a little after  
 pulling of his vizard (a), he sheweth himself  
*Erasmus* in these wordes : “ Therefore when  
 “ men haue congratulated me, that I had such  
 “ a friend placed in such high dignities, I am  
 “ wont to answer, that I would not congratu-  
 “ lulate his encrease of honour, before he  
 “ should commaunde me to do so.”

3. *Iohn Cochleus*, a most learned German,  
 and a great Diuine, writing against *Richard*  
*Sampson* an English-man, who defended king  
*Henrie* the eight for this fact, sayth much of  
 Sir THOMAS his praises ; at last speaking of his  
 death (b), he sayth thus to king *Henrie’s* Coun-  
 cellours :

(a) Proinde mihi gratulantibus, quod talem haberem amicum in  
 tanto rerum fastigio collocatum, respondere soleo, non prius illi de  
 dignitatis accessione me gratulaturum, quam iuberet ipse.

(b) Quid laudis aut honoris consequi potuistis ex eâ crudelitate,  
 quam in Thomam Morum exercuistis ? Vir erat humanitate, moribus,  
 affabilitate, facilitate, facundiâ, prudentiâ, vitæ innocentia, ingenio,  
 doctrinâ, cunctis tum notus et laudatus, tum amabilis et admirabilis,  
 dignitate præterea supremus Regis Iudex et Regi proximus, conspi-  
 cuus, in Republicâ maximâ cum laude ab adolescentiâ usq; versa-  
 tus, splendidis legationibus functus, atq; in senectam jam vergens  
 caniscente capite venerandus. Qui honorificè impetratâ à Rege  
 missione,

cellours : “ What prayse or honour could you  
 “ gett by that crueltie, which you exercised  
 “ against Sir THOMAS MORE ? he was a man of  
 “ most knowen and laudable humanitie, milde  
 “ behauour, affabilitie, bountie, eloquence,  
 “ wisedome, ianocencie of life, wit, learning,  
 “ exceedingly beloued and admired of all men ;  
 “ in dignitie, besides, highest Iudge of your  
 “ Countrie, and next to the king himselte,  
 “ famous from his youth : beneficiall to his  
 “ Countrie for manie Embassages, and now  
 “ most venerable for his gray head, drawing  
 “ towards olde age, who hauing obtained of  
 “ the king an honourable dismissal from his  
 “ office, liued priuately at home with his wife,  
 “ children, and nephewes, hauing neuer com-  
 “ mitted the least offence against anie, burden-  
 “ some to no man, readie to helpe euerie bo-  
 “ die, milde, and pleasant of disposition. You  
 “ haue giuen counsell to haue this so good a

*missione, privatim domi vixit cum uxore, filiisq; et nepotibus, nullius  
 criminis reus unquam, ac ne suspectus quidem, nemini molestus,  
 nemini gravis, omnibus præsto, mansuetus, et comis. Hunc consu-  
 luitis rapi è domo suâ, è dulcissimo rectè pièq; philosophantium con-  
 tubernio, ob nullam aliam causam, nisi quod impietates vestras jus-  
 tificare nollet, obistente suâ conscientia, et timore Dei, animaq; sue  
 salute. Creditisne illud facinus vestrum ulli ætati aut sexui placu-  
 isse, aut unquam placiturum esse ? Non fiet, Vobis ipsis plus nocu-  
 isse, quàm illi ; vos ipsos enim fecistis homicidas et reos sanguinis  
 innoxii in perpetuum. Illum verò et Deo cunctisq; coelorum exer-  
 citibus et hominibus acceptissimum, laudatissimumq; effecistis Mar-  
 tyrem ; Deo sine fine vivit et regnat. Vos hanc reatus et infamie  
 maculam nunquam delebitis. Scriptum est enim, Ipse novit et  
 decipientem, et eum qui decipitur. Adducit Consiliarios  
 in stultum finem, et iudices in stuporem. Baltheum Re-  
 gum dissolvit, et præcingit fune renes eorum. Vide Staple-  
 ton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 21. p. 365.*



" man drawen out of his owne house, out of  
 " that sweete Academie of learned and de-  
 " uoute Christian Philosophers, for no other  
 " cause but this, that he would not justifie  
 " your impieties ; his guiltlesse Conscience re-  
 " sisting it, the feare of God, and his soule's  
 " health, withdrawing him from it, Doe you  
 " belieue that this your wicked fact hath euer  
 " pleased anie one of what nation, sexe, or  
 " age focuer? or euer will please anie? it  
 " it will not surely : you haue hurt your-  
 " selves, murderers, and guiltie of shedding  
 " most innocent bloud ; him haue you made  
 " most grateful to God, to the cittizens of  
 " heauen, and to all just men on earth, and  
 " a most renounced Martyr of Christ, he liueth  
 " and raigneth without all doubt with Al-  
 " mightie God ; you will neuer be able to  
 " blott out this fault and infamie. It is writ-  
 " ten of God : *He knoweth the deceauer, and*  
 " *him that is deceaued ; he will bring coun-*  
 " *sellours to a foolish ende, Iudges into a*  
 " *mazement ; he vnlooseth the belte of kings,*  
 " *and guirdeth their loynes with a rope.*" Thus  
 writeth *Cochleus*.

4. *Paulus Iouius*, Bishop of *Nuceria*, a-  
 mongst the praises of diuerse learned men (a),  
 writeth thus of Sir THOMAS MORE's unjust  
 death :

(a) In *Elog. doct. virorum*, tit. 89. and quoted by Dr. Sta-  
 pleton. *Vit. Th. Mori*, cap. 21. p. 366. *Fortuna impotens,*  
*et suo more instabilis, infausta q; virtuti, si unquam superbe et tru-*  
*culenter jocata est, sub Henrico nuper VIII. in Britannia immanis-*  
*sime defauit, prostrato ante oculos Th. Moro, quem Rex paulo*  
*ante*

death: " Fortune, fickle and vnconstant, after  
 " her accustomed manner, and alwaies hating  
 " vertue, if euer she played the parte of a  
 " proude and cruell dame, she hath lately be-  
 " haued herself most cruelly in *England*, vn-  
 " der *Henrie* the Eight, casting downe before  
 " her *Thomas More*, whome the king, whilst  
 " he was an excellent admirer of vertue, had  
 " raised to the highest places of honour in his  
 " realme, that from thence, being by fatall  
 " maddenesse changed into a beast, he might  
 " suddenly throwe him downe againe with  
 " great crueltie, because he would not fauour  
 " the vnsatiable lust of that furious tyrant,  
 " and for that he would not flatter him in  
 " his wickednesse, being a man most eminent  
 " for the accomplishment of all partes of  
 " Iustice, and most Saintlie in all kinde of  
 " vertues. For when the king would be di-  
 " uorced from his lawfull wife, marrie a  
 " Queane, and hasten to disinherite, with  
 " shame, his lawful daughter (*Marie*) MORE  
 " Lo: Chancellour was forced to appeare at

ante præclarus eximia virtutis admirator ad summos honores extule-  
 rat, ut inde eum, fatali obortâ insaniâ mutatus in feram, crudeli  
 mox impetu præcipitem daret, quod ipsius furentis tyranni nefaria  
 libidini vir omnibus religionis atq; iustitiæ numeris longè optimus atq;  
 sanctissimus adulari nolisset. Dum enim ille uxorem repudiare,  
 pellicem inducere, filiamq; (*Mariam*) magno probro abdicare prope-  
 raret, *Morus* scripti magister, pietatis ac innocentia sua reus, cau-  
 sam ad tribunal dicere coactus, impio iudicio ita damnatus est, ut  
 latronum more teterrimo supplicii genere necaretur, nec fas esset di-  
 lacerata membra propinquorum pietatem sepelire. Sed *Henricus*, vel  
 hoc uno facinore *Phalaridis* æmulus, eripere non potuit, quin ad  
 sempiternam inusitati sceleris memoriam, *Mori* nomen in *Utopiâ* per-  
 gni constanti laude frueretur.

“ the Barre guiltie only for his pietie and in-  
 “ nocencie, and there was condemned most  
 “ wrongfully to a most cruell and shamefull  
 “ death like a Traytor and murtherer, so that  
 “ it was not lawfull for his friends to burie  
 “ the dismembred quarters of his bodie. But  
 “ *Henrie* for this fact, an imitator of *Pha-*  
 “ *laris*, shall neuer be able to bereaue him  
 “ of perpetual fame, by this his vnlawfull  
 “ wickednesse, but that the name of MORE  
 “ shall remain constant and in honour, by his  
 “ famous *Vtopia*.” He speaketh of his death,  
 as his sentence did purporte.

5. Now lett vs ioyne to these, viz: an  
 Englishman, a Low Countrie man, a Ger-  
 man, and an Italian, a French man also, that  
 we may see how all Nations did lamente Sir  
 THOMAS MORE'S death, and what credit the  
 king and his Councell therevnto gott by it. *Wil-*  
*liam Paradine* writeth thus. (a) “ The trou-  
 “ bles and ciuile diffensions in *England*, now

(a) Jam in alterum annum Anglicae turbæ ac similitates  
 processerant, cum mense Julio Joannes Fiscerus Rossensis E-  
 piscopus Londinum in vincula traducitur, quod divortium,  
 quodque recens legem in Pontificatum latam damnare vide-  
 retur. Ejus consilii particeps fuit Thomas Morus Vicecomes  
 Londinensis, vir, ut nobilitate generis, sic linguarum, lite-  
 rarumq; omnis generis, supra aulicorum captum, peritiâ  
 clarissimus, ac moribus inculpatissimis. Ii, cum Deo potius  
 quam hominibus obsequendum clamarent, atq; in eâ sen-  
 tentiâ obfirmâssent animum, à quâ nec precibus, nec prae-  
 miis, nec pollicitationibus, multò minus propositis mortis  
 terculamentis, diduci divelliq; unquam potuere, damnati  
 sunt capitis; quod supplicium constanti animo uterq; sub-  
 iere. *Gul. Paradini Bellijocens. Eccles. Decani afflicta Brit.*  
*Relig. deinde restitutæ Exegema, pag. 20.*

“ hath



" hath lasted a yeare or two, when in the  
 " moneth of *Iuly*, *Iohn Fisher*, Bishopp of  
 " *Rocheſter*, was committed priſonner in *Lon-*  
 " *don*, becauſe he ſeemed to diſallowe the  
 " king's diuorce, and the lawe newly made  
 " againſt the Pope's Supremacie. Of that re-  
 " ſolution was alſo Sir THOMAS MORE par-  
 " taker, being Sheriff of *London*, a man fa-  
 " mous for eloquence, and in all manner of  
 " learning, aboue the reache of all Courtiers,  
 " moſt expert and ſkillfull; moſt faultleſſe in  
 " all deedes. Theſe two purpoſing rather to  
 " obey God then man, and confirming their  
 " mindes with conſtancie, were condemned  
 " to death: from which conſtancie they could  
 " be drawen neither by entreaties, hope of  
 " rewardes, faire promiſes, nor by anie threat-  
 " whatſoeuer, which corporall death both of  
 " them receaued moſt patiently and ſtoutely."

Finally (a) euerie writer of that age lamenta-  
 bly deplored the vniuſt death of Sir THOMAS  
 MORE. *Rouerus Pontanus* a German, in his  
*Index* of memorable matters; *Laurence Su-*  
*rius* a Low-Countrie-man, vpon the yeare of  
 1538. *Iohn Fontayne* a Frenchman in his  
 French hiftorie; *Onuphrius Patauinus* in  
*Paulo III.* an Italian; *Nicolas* Cardinall of  
*Capua* in his French letters; *Iohn Secundus*  
 of *Hague*, yea *Carion* and *Sleidan* himſelfe  
 ſpeake honourably of Sir THOMAS MORE's  
 death.

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 21, p. 367.

6. But of all Protestants *John Rinius* speaketh most passionately of K. *Henrie's* cruell fact, and Sir THOMAS's pietie, in these wordes, *lib. 2. de Conscientia*: (a) "He that is in  
 " a Prince's Courte, ought freely, if he be  
 " asked his Iudgement, rather to tell his minde  
 " plainely, what is most behoofefull for his  
 " Prince's good, then to speake *placentia*,  
 " tickeling his cares with flatterie; neither  
 " ought he to praise things, which are not  
 " prayse worthie, nor to dispraise matters  
 " that are worthie of high commendations;  
 " yea, although he be in danger of getting  
 " no fauour by perswading it, but rather punishment and disgrace for gainesaying men's  
 " appetites;" then bringing *Papinianus* that great lawyer for a liuelie example thereof, who chose rather to dye, then to iustifye the Emperour *Caracalla's* killing of his owne brother, against his own conscience, (b) he addeth: "Such a man was lately in our me-  
 " morie

(a) *Qui in principis aula versatur, eum, quæ in rem fore Principis persuasura habet, liberâ conscientia potius in medium adferre, si quando adhibitus in consilium fuerit, quam ad gratiam loqui atq; auribus blandiri, neq; aut laudanda vituperare, aut crimine digna laudare oportet, etiamsi forte magno ipse in metu sit, ne aut utilis suadentem, aut libere consulentem non gratia modo non excipiat, sed maneat etiam poena.*

(b) *Talis et nostræ memoriæ noster ille singulari vir et doctrinâ et sanctitate præfatus, atq; unicuique patriæ suæ decus et ornamentum, Th. Marus, qui quoniam in uxoris matrimonio Regis Britannici, aliam, repudiata uxore priora, ducere uxorem impugnavit, consensit, contraq; animi sententiam comprobare noluit, primario in vinculo coniectus, ut ostendit et de Regi ipso et de totâ Britannia librorum, postquam, quod rectum ipso et fas piumpq; dicebat, optima mentis suæ conscientia fretus ad extremum pertinaciter tueri pergeret, ab impiissimo*

" more that singular and excellent for learn-  
 " ing and pietie, yea the onlie ornament and  
 " glorie of his Countrie THOMAS MORE, who  
 " because he would not agree to nor approue  
 " by his consent, against his owne conscience,  
 " the new marriage of the king of *England*,  
 " who would needes be diuorced from his first  
 " wife, and marrie another, he was first cast  
 " into prison, one that had singularly well de-  
 " serued of the king himselfe, and of *Eng-*  
 " *land*; and when he constantly continued in  
 " his opinion, which he truly thought to be  
 " most iust, most lawfull and godlie, embol-  
 " dened to defende it by a sincere conscience,  
 " he was putt to death, by that wicked par-  
 " ricide, that most hatefull and cruell tyrant;  
 " a crueltie not heard of before in this our  
 " age. Oh ingratitude and singular impietie

piissimo parricida et deterrimo crudelissimoq; tyranno est supplicio as-  
 fectus. O inauditam hoc seculo immanitatem, O ingratitudinem  
 atq; impietatem Regis singularem, qui virum integerrimum et sanc-  
 tissimum, et cum ejusdem ipsius tum glorie atq; utilitatum patrie  
 studiosissimum, qui recta et honesta suaderet, dissuaderet contraria,  
 tam diu squalore carceris macerare et conficere, ac nullius demum  
 sceleris compertum ac devictum, nec innocentem modò, sed et prolixè  
 de ipsa meritum, et consiliarium deniq; unum omnium fidei-  
 (heu nefas) moris multare sustinuerit. Hæcine tandem præmia,  
 Rex, hanc gratiam fidei ac benevolentie erga te sue? Hunc ex  
 sercizio fidei fructum vir optimus, hoc opera pretium, refert? Te  
 verò beatum et aterna jam compotem felicitatis atq; salutis, More,  
 qui capitis prius subire periculum, quam aliquid contra conscientiam  
 probare, ac pluvius denique facere jus et æquum, fas et pium, quam  
 vitam ipsam malueris. Sed dum hac mortali vitâ orbaris, ad veram  
 et immortalam migras. Ex hominum consortio dum tolleris, in di-  
 corum numerum referis. This and the foregoing passage are  
 quoted from Rivius by Dr. Stapleton, in his Life of Sir Tho.  
 More, cap. xl. p. 367, 368.

" of



“ of the king’s, who could endure first to con-  
 “ fume and macerate with a tedious and loath-  
 “ some imprisonment, such a sincere and holie  
 “ good man; one that had bene so careful of  
 “ his glorie, so studious of his Countrie’s pro-  
 “ fitt; he that had perswaded him alwaies to  
 “ all Iustice and honestie, dissuaded him from  
 “ all contraries, and not conuincd of anie  
 “ crime, nor found in anie fault, he slew him  
 “ (oh miserable wickednesse) not only being  
 “ innocent, but him that had deserued high  
 “ rewardes, and his most faythfull and trustie  
 “ Councillour. Are these thy rewardes, o  
 “ king? is this the thanks thou returnest him  
 “ for all his trustie seruice and good will vn-  
 “ to thee? doth this man reape this commodi-  
 “ tie for his most faythfull acts and employ-  
 “ ments? But, oh, MORE, thou art now hap-  
 “ pie, and enioyest eternall felicitie, who  
 “ wouldst leese thy head rather than approue  
 “ anie thing against thine owne conscience,  
 “ who more esteemest rightcousnesse, iustice  
 “ and pietie, then life it selfe; and whilst  
 “ thou art depriued of this mortall life, thou  
 “ passest to the true and immortall happinesse  
 “ of heauen; whilst thou art taken away  
 “ from men, thou art rayfed vp amongst the  
 “ numbers of holie Saints and Angells of  
 “ blisse.”

7. Last of all I will recounte, what the  
 good Emperour *Charles* the Fifth sayd vnto  
*Sir Thomas Elliot* then the king’s Embassa-  
 dour in his Court, after he had heard of  
 Bishopp

Bishopp *Fisher* and Sir THOMAS MORE's martyrdomes; on a time he spoke of it to *Sir Thomas Elliott*, who seemed to excuse the matter by making some doubt of the reporte, to whome the Emperour (a) replied: "It is too true; but yf we had had two such lights in all our kingdomes, as these men were, we could rather haue chosen to haue lost two of the best and strongest townes in all our Empire, then suffer ourselues to be depriued of them, much lesse to endure to haue them wrongfully taken from vs."

8. (b) And though none of these should haue written anie thing hereof, yet the matter it selfe speaketh abundantly that the cause was most vniust, the manner thereof most infamous, and Sir THOMAS MORE's patience most admirable, his pietie, his learning, his vertues incomparable; famous was he for his noble martyrdom; infamous king *Henry* for his most vniust condemnation. These things doe aggrauate king *Henry's* fault: First, that he killed him by a law, wherein he neuer offended, either by word or deede, and by that which concerned not Temporall policie, but

(a) *Ego si in meis regnis duo huiusmodi lumina haberem, quamlibet munitissimam civitatem potius periclitari sinerem, quam me illis privari, nedum injuste tolli permetterem*; as quoted by Dr. Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 21. p. 369. See also Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 58. who had the relation from Sir Tho. Elliot himself; and Mr. Hoddesdon's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, chap. 15. p. 132.

(b) Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 21. p. 369, 370.

religion only ; not rebellious against the king, but fearfull to offende his owne Conscience ; which though he refused to approue, yet did he neuer reprove it, or anie other man for taking it. Secondly, that he putt to death so rare a man, so beloued of all, so vertuous, so wise, so courteous, and wittie ; which might be motiues sufficient euer to pardon a guiltie offender. Thirdly, for beheading a man that had donne him so much seruice, yea the whole kingdome such good offices, his faythfull Counsellour for twentie yeares together, his expert Embassadour, his iust Lo: Chancellour, the verie flower of his realme. Manie things also doe amplifye and increase Sir THOMAS MORE's immortall glorie ; first, in that to all the king's demaunds he had behaued himselfe so sincerely and impartially, opening his minde ingenuously ; so that the king seemed still to like him, though his opinion were contrarie to his liking. Secondly, that he had suffered already the losse of all his goods, being condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and only for silence. Thirdly, in that he tooke all crosses for the loue of God most patiently. Fourthly, that he dyed for a controuersie in religion, neuer before called in question, by anie precedent example : Finally, that he only of all the Councell would not flatter the king, nor keepe either goods, dignitie or life, with the danger of the losse of his soule. All which proue what a rare man, how admirable



mirable and vertuous a Christian, and how glorious a martyr he is.

9. (a) But because one bauld English Chronicler, *Hall*, tearmeth him a scoffing man, because his writings and doings were full of wittie ieaſtes, calling him a wiſe fooliſh man, or a fooliſh wiſe man, lett vs ſee by his owne writings the reaſon, why he hath vſed ſo manie pleaſant tales in his bookes; and it is this: "Euen as ſome ſicke men," (b) ſayth he, "will  
"take no medicines, vnleſſe ſome pleaſant  
"thing be put amongſt their potions, although  
"perhaps it be ſomewhat hurtefull, yet the  
"phiſician ſuffereth them to haue it: So be-  
"cauſe manie will not willingly hearken to  
"ſerious and graue documents, except they  
"be mingled with ſome fable or ieaſte;  
"therefore reaſon willeth vs to doe the like."

And in his greate Volume page 1048. (c) he ſayth, "that ieaſtes are as it were ſawce,  
"whereby we are recreated, that we may  
"eate with more ſtomake; but as that were  
"an abſurde bankett, in which there were  
"few diſhes of meate, and much varietie of  
"ſawces, and that an vnpleaſant one, where  
"there were no ſawce at all; euen ſo that  
"life were ſpent idely, wherein nothing

(a) Stapleton. *Vit. Th. Mori.* cap. 13. p. 286, 287. This Apology for Sir Tho. More's pleaſantneſſe and wit, is alſo tranſcribed by Mr. Hoddeſdon into his *Hiſt. of Sir Tho. More*, p. 147.

(b) Sir Tho. More's Works, p. 1171. Of comfort againſt tribulation, lib. 2. chap. 1.

(c) Of comfort againſt tribulation, lib. 1. chap. 7.

"were

“ were but mirth and iolitie; and againe that  
 “ tedious and vncomfortable, wherein no plea-  
 “ sure or myrth were to be expected.” Which  
 mirth as it may become all men, so most e-  
 specially did it become such a one as Sir  
 THOMAS MORE was, being a married man,  
 yea a Courtier, and a companion to a Prince,  
 of whome that may worthily be spoken, which  
 (a) *Titus Livius* recounteth of *Cato* thus:  
 “ In this man there was such excellencie of  
 “ witt and wisedome, that he seemeth to haue  
 “ bene able to haue made his fortune, in  
 “ what place soeuer he had bene borne; he  
 “ wanted no skill either for the managing of  
 “ priuate or publike busineses; he was skil-  
 “ full, both in Countrie and Cittie affayres;  
 “ some are raysed to honour, either because  
 “ they are excellent lawyers, singularly elo-  
 “ quent, or of admirable vertues; but the  
 “ towardlinesse of this man’s vnderstanding  
 “ framed him so to all matters, that you would  
 “ deeme him to be borne for one alone.” In  
 the practise of vertues, you would iudge him  
 rather a monke then a Courtier; in learning  
 a most famous writer; “ yf you would aske  
 “ his counsell in the law, he was most readie  
 “ to aduise you the best; yf he were to make  
 “ an Oration, he would shew maruellous elo-  
 “ quence;” he was admirable in all kinde of  
 learning, Latine, Greeke, Prophane, Diuine;

(a) Dec. 4. lib. 19. See Dr. Stapleton in Vit. Th. Mori,  
 cap. 13. p. 288.

yf there were an Embassage to be vndertooke,  
none more dexterous to finish it; in giuing  
found counsell in doubtfull Cases, none more  
prudent; to tell the truth without feare, none  
more free; as farre from all flatterie, as open  
and pleasant, full of grace in deliuering his  
iudgement, and that, which *Cato* had not,  
therein was he most happie. For *Linie* saith,  
“ that he had a sower carriadge, and a tounge  
“ immoderate free and full of taunting :”  
But Sir THOMAS being *Christ's* schollar, and  
not anie Stoick's, was milde, and of an hum-  
ble hart, neither sadde, nor turbulent, and be-  
sides of a pleasant conuersation, neuer sterne,  
but for righteousnesse; a great contemner ei-  
ther of vnlawfull pleasures, or of inordinate  
riches and glorie. As *Cato* had much enmitie  
with diuerse Senatours, so manie of them on  
the other side did exercise his patience, that  
one can hardly discerne, whether the Nobilitie  
did presse him more, or he the Nobilitie; but  
on the contrarie side, Sir THOMAS MORE neuer  
had anie priuate or publike quarrell with anie  
man; yea no man can reckon anie to haue  
bene his enemy, being borne wholly to friend-  
shipp and affabilitie; wherefore being nothing  
inferiour to *Cato* for grauitie, integritie, and  
innocency, as exact a hater of all vice, and  
sterne to all wicked men, as he, yet did he  
farre excelle him in mildenesse, sweetenesse of  
behauour, and pleasantnesse of witt; yea I doe  
him iniurie to compare him to anie morall phi-  
losopher whatsoeuer; for he was absolutely  
well



well seene in the schoole of Christ, and endew-  
ed with all supernaturall perfections, a greate  
Saint of Christ's Church, and a holie Martyr of  
his fayth, and high in God's fauour; which  
was well testified in his daughter my aunte  
*Dauney (a)*, who being sore sick of that dis-  
ease, of which she after dyed, fell into a long  
traunce, and afterwards returning to herselfe,  
she professed with abundance of teares, that  
she had felt in that while most grieuous tor-  
ments, and should haue suffered them for euer;  
had not her fathers prayers and intercession  
begged of God a little longer space to repente  
her of her former life. It was also credibly  
reported, that two of *Iohn Haywood's* sons,  
*Iasper* and *Ellis*, hauing one of the teeth of  
SIR THOMAS MORE betweene them, and ei-  
ther of them being desirous to haue it to  
himselſe, it suddenly, to the admiration of  
both, parted in two.

10. Now to conclude, lett vs consider, why  
God culled this man out aboue all other to  
preferue the vnitie of the Church, and to be  
an illustrious witnesse of the glorious cause,  
for the which he dyed: for least men should  
thinke that yf only the Clergie had dyed, they  
might seeme partiall in their owne Cause; be-  
holde God picked out this worthie lay man,  
such as I suppose, all Christendome had not  
the like, who should be as his especiall Em-  
bassadour for the laytie, as was the famous Bi-

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 6. p. 223.

shop of *Rochester* for the Clergie; such were these two for learning, as they could reache into all matters; such for excellencie of witt, that no subtil dealing could entrappe them vnawares, easily foreseeing anie danger; such for vertue and integritie of life, that God of his great mercie would not suffer such men in so great a poynt, as this, to be deceaued. And lett no man thinke this was no Martyrdome, yea rather it was greater then that of those, who would not denye the fayth of Christ, according as that worthie Bishopp and Confessour *Denis of Alexandria* (a) sayth, that that Martyrdome, which one suffereth to preserue the vnitie of the Church, is more than that which one suffereth, because he will not do sacrifice to Idolls; for in this a man dyeth to saue his owne soule, in the other he dyeth for the whole Church.

WHO with as curious care should viewe,  
 Each vertue of thy breast;  
 As was thy face perused by him,  
 Whose pencell it exprest:  
 With ease might see, much to admire,  
 But hard to putt in shapes;  
 As Xeuxes could expresse to life  
 The fruitfull bunche of grapes;  
 He sooner should his owne life ende,  
 Then he could finish thine,  
 Such store of matter would arise  
 And gemmes of vertue shine.

(a) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 37.

There must he drawe a browe,  
 Of Shamefastnesse and Grace,  
 Then two bright eyes, of Learning and  
 Religion, therewith place:  
 And then a nose of honour must  
 Be reared, breathing sweete fame:  
 Two rosie cheekes of Martyrdome,  
 With lillies of good name;  
 A golden mouth for all men pleades,  
 But only for himselfe;  
 A chinne of Temperance, closely shaued  
 From care of worldlie pelfe.  
 The more that he shall looke into,  
 The more he leaues vnviewed,  
 And still more shewes of noble worth,  
 Wherewith he was endewed.  
 But loe the fatall Axe vpreared,  
 And at his verie Chinne,  
 By enuie hath a seuerance made,  
 That More might not be seene.

MORE like a Saint liued, he most worthie  
 Martyr ended:  
 MORE, fitt for heauen, which now he hath,  
 whereto his whole life tended.



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OF  
Sir THOMAS MORE'S  
BOOKS.

**A**MONG his Latine Workes are his Epigrammes, partly translated out of Greeke, and partely of his owne making, so wittily deuised and penned, as they may seeme nothing inferiour, or to yeelde to anie of the like kinde written in our daies, and perchance not vnworthie to be compared with those of like writers of olde. These Epigrammes, as they are learned and pleasant, so are they nothing biting or contumelious.

He also wrote elegantly and eloquently the life of king *Richard* the Third, not only in English, which booke is abroad in printe, (though corrupted and vitiated) but in Latin, also not yet (*a*) printed. He did not perfect nor finish that booke, neither anie sithence

(*a*) Mr. Hearne has observ'd this to be a mistake, the Life of King Richard the III<sup>d</sup> having been printed in Latin at Louvain in the year 1566. See his Collections before Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 31, 34.

durst take vpon him to sett penne to paper to finish it, neither in the one or other tounge, all men being deterred and driuen from that enterprise, by reason of the incomparable excellencie of that worke; as all other paynters were afrayde to perfect and finish the image of *Venus*, paynted but imperfectly by *Apelles*, for his excellent workmanshipp therein. But the booke that carrieth the price of all his other Latin bookes, of wittie inuention, is his (a) *Utopia*; he doth in it most liuely and pleasantly painte forth such an exquisite plattform, patience, and example of a singular good Common-wealth, as to the same, neither the *Lacedæmonians*, nor the *Athenians*, nor yet the best of all other, that of the *Romans*, is comparable, full prettily and probably deuising the sayd Countrie to be one of the Countries of the New-found Lands, declared to him in *Antwerpe*, by *Hythlodius* a Portingall, and one of the sea-companions of *Americus Uesputius*, that first sought out and found those Lands; such an excellent and absolute an estate of a Common-Wealth, that sauing

(a) Printed at Basil in 1518. and 1563. both in quarto, and at Oxford in 1663. in octavo. 'Twas translated into English, and published with marginal Notes by Ralph Robinson of C.C.C. at London, 1557. octavo. As also in 1639. octavo, by one Bernard Alsop a Printer. Before which translation, Mr. Hearne informs us, there came out another without notes, printed at London in 1551. octavo. The *Utopia* was also publish'd at Venice in Italian in 1548. See Antony Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 1. col. 32. and Mr. Hearne's Collections before Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 33, 34.

the people were vn-Christened, might seeme to passe anie estate and Common-wealth, I will not say of the olde Nations by me before mentioned, but euen of anie other in our time. Manie great learned men, as *Budeus*, and *Ioannes Paludanus*, vpon a feruent zeale wished, that some excellent Diuines might be sent thither to preache Christ's Gospell; yea there were here amongst vs at home, fundrie good men and learned Diuines very desirous to take the voyage to bring the people to the fayth of *Christ*, whose manners they did so well like. And this sayd iollie inuention of Sir THOMAS MORE's seemed to beare a good countenance of truth, not only for the creditt Sir THOMAS was of in the world, but also for that about the same time manie strange and vnknowne nations and Countries were discouered, such as our forefathers neuer knew : especially by the wonderfull nauigation of the shippe called *Victoria*, that sayled the world round about, whereby it was found that shippes sayle bottome to bottome, and that there be Antipodes, which thing *Lactantius* and others doe flattely denye, laughing them to scorne that so did write. Againe it is found, that vnder the Zodiake, where *Aristotle* and others say, that for the immoderate and excesssiue heate there is no habitation, is the most temperate and pleasant dwelling, and the most fruitfull countrie in the world. These and other considerations caused manie wise and learned men nothing lesse to mistrust, then that this had bene



nothing but an Inuentiue drift of Sir THOMAS MORE's owne imagination; for they tooke it for a verie sure true storie, wherein they were deceaued by Sir THOMAS, as too wittie, and as well learned as they were. In this booke, amongst other things, he hath a very goodlie processe, how there might be fewer thecues in England, and a maruellous opinable probleme of sheepe, that whereas men were wont to eate the sheepe, as they doe in other countries, now contrariwise sheepe in England pittiefully do deuowre men, women and children, houses, yea, and townes withall. Like a most thankful man, he maketh honourable mention of Cardinall *Morton* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and Lo: Chancellour of England, in whose house, as we haue sayd, himselfe was in his tender youth brought vpp, albeit it be by the dissembled name of the sayd *Hythlodius*, whome he imagineth to haue bene in *England*, and to haue bene acquainted with the sayd Cardinall.

And as this booke in his kinde is singular and excellent, contayning and describing a Common-wealth farre passing the Common-wealthes deuised and vsed by *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Numa*, *Plato*, and diuerse others: (a) So wrote he in another kinde and sorte a booke

(a) Printed at London in 1523. quarto, under the title of *Vindicatio Henrici VIII. Regis Angliae et Galliae à calumniis Lutheri*, and publish'd under the name of *Gulielmus Roffeus*. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 33. See Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 186, 187.

against *Luther*, no lesse singular and excellent. King *Henry* the Eight had written a notable and learned booke against *Luther's* booke *De Captiuitate Babylonica*, most euidently and mightily refuting his vile and shamefull heresies against the Catholike Fayth, and Christ's holie Sacraments, which did so grieue *Luther* to the hart, that hauing no good substantiall matter to helpe himselfe withall, he fell to scoffing and sawcie ieasting at the king's booke in his answer for the same, vsing nothing throughout the sayd Answer, but the figure of Rhetorike called *sawce-malepert*, and played the very varlett with the king. To whome Sir THOMAS MORE made reply, and doth so discipher and lay open his wily wrested handling of the Sacred Scripture, his monstrous opinions, and maniefolde contradictions, that neither he nor anie of his generation, durst euer after putt penne to paper to encounter and reioyne to his reply: in which, besides the deepe and profound debating of the matter itselfe, he so dresseth *Luther* with his owne scoffing and ieasting rhetoricke, as he worthily deserued. But because this kinde of writing (albeit a meete Couer for such a Cuppe, and verie necessarie to repressse and beate him with his owne follie, according to the Scripture, *Responde stulto secundum stultitiam eius*;) seemed not agreable and correspondent to his grauitie and dignitie, the booke was sett forth vnder the name of one *Gulielmus Rossius*, only suppressing his owne name.

He (a) wrote also and printed another proper and wittie treatise against a certain Epistle of *John Pomeran*, one of *Luther's* standard-bearers in *Germanie*. And after he was shutt vp in the Tower, he wrote a certaine exposition in Latine vpon the Passion of Christ, not yet printed, which was not persited, and is so plainely and exquisitely translated into English, by his neece Mrs. *Bassett*, that it may seeme originally to haue bene penned in English by Sir THOMAS MORE himselfe. Some other things he wrote also in Latine, which we pretermitt; and now we will somewhat talke of his Englishe Workes, which all (besides the life of *John Picus* Earle of *Mirandula*, and the foresayd life of king *Richard* the Third, and some other prophane things, concerne matters of religion for the most parte.

(b) The first booke of this sorte, was his Dialogues, made by him, when he was Chancellour of the Dutchie of *Lancaster*, which bookes occasioned him afterwards (as according to the olde prouerbe, One businesse begetteth another) to write diuerse other things. For whereas he had amongst manie other matters touched and reprobued *William Tindall's* adulterate and vitious translation of the New Testament, *Tindall* being not able to beare to see his new religion, and his owne doings

(a) Stapleton. Vir. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 188.

(b) Stapleton. Vir. Tho. Mori, cap. 4. p. 189.



withall to haue so fowle an ouerthrowe, as Sir THOMAS MORE gaue him, after great deliberation with his Euangelicall bretheren, tooke in hand to answer some parte of his dialogues, especially touching his aforesayd corrupt Translation; but what small glory he wanne thereby, is easie to be seene of euerie man, that with indifferent affection will vouchsafe to reade Sir THOMAS MORE's reply, whereof we shall giue you a smal taste; but first we will note vnto you the integritie, sinceritie and vprightnesse of the good and gracious nature and disposition of the sayd Sir THOMAS MORE in his writing, not only against *Tindall*, but generally against all other Protestants. First then it is to be considered in him, that he doth not, (as manie other writers doe against their aduersaries, and all Protestants doe against him and other Catholikes,) wreathe and wreste their wordes to the worst, and make their reasons more feeble and weake, then they are; but rather enforceth them to the vttermost, and oftentimes further then the partie himself doth or perhaps could doe. And he was of this minde, that he sayde, he would not lett, while he liued, wheresoeuer he perceaued his aduersarie to say well, or himselfe to haue sayd otherwise, indifferently for both to say and declare the truth. And therefore himselfe after the printing, finding the bookes diuulged and commonly read of the Debellation of *Salem* and

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(a) *Bizanze*, albeit manie had read the place and found no faulte therein; yet he finding afterwards that he mistooke certaine wordes of the Pacifyer, without anie man's controulement, meerely of himselfe reformed them. The like he counsell'd his learned friends, especially (b) *Erasmus* to doe, and to retract manie things that he had written; whose counsell (wherein he had a notable president in the worthie Doctour *S. Augustine*) yf *Erasmus* had followed, I trowe his bookes would haue bene better liked of by posteritie, which perchance shall be fayne either vterly to abolish some of his workes, or at least to redresse and reforme them. Here is now further to be considered in his writings, that he neuer hunted after praise or vayne glorie, nor anie vile and filthie gaine, or commoditie; yea, so that enuenomed and poysoned bookes might be once suppressed and abolished, he wished his owne on a light and fayre fyre. Yet did the Euangelicall bretheren, after he had abandoned the office of Lo: Chancellour, as they otherwise spread and writt manie vaine and false rumours, to the aduancement of their new Gospel, and oppressing of the Catholike, lay to his charge in their bookes, that he was partiall to the Clergie, and for his bookes receaued a great masse of monie of the sayd Clergie. And

(a) First printed at London in 1533. 8vo. Wood's Athen, Oxon.

(b) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 4, p. 193.

Tindall

*Tindall* and diuerse others of the good bretheren affirmed, that they wist well that Sir THOMAS MORE was not lesse worth in monie, plate and other moueables, then twentie thousand markes; but it was found farre otherwise, when his house was searched, after he was committed to the Tower, where a while he had some competent libertie, but after on a suddaine he was shutt vp very close, at which time he feared there would be a new and more narrower search in all his houses, because his minde gaue him, that folkes thought he was not so poore, as it appeared in the search; but he tolde his daughter Mrs. *Rooper* that it would be but a sporte to them that knew the truth of his pouertie, vnlesse they should finde out his wiue's gay gyrdle, and her goulde beades. The like pouertie of anie man, that had continued so long a Chancellour with the king, and had borne so manie great offices, hath, I trowe, seldome bene found in anie lay man before, and much lesse since his time. As for his partialitie to the Clergie, sauing the reuerence due to the sacred Order of priests, by whome we are made Christian men in Baptisme, and by whome we receaue the other holie Sacraments, there was none in him; and that they felt, that were naught of the Clergie, that had so little fauour at his hands, that there was no man, that anie medling had with them, into whose hands they were more loath to come, then into his; but for fees, annuities or other  
rewards,



rewardes, or anie commoditie that should encline him to be euer propense and partiall to the Clergie, none can be shewed. (a) First, touching anie fees he had to his liuing, after that he had left the Chauncellourship, he had not one groate granted him since he first wrote, or beganne to write the Dialogues, and that was the first booke, that euer he wrote in matters of religion. And as for all the lands and fees he had besides those of the king's guift, was not, nor should be, during his mother in lawe's life, (who liued after he relinquished the office of Chauncellourship) worth yearly the summe of 100. pound, and thereof had he some by his wife, some left by his father, some he purchased, and some fees had he of Temporall men; and so may euerie man soundly guesse, that he had no greate parte of his liuing of the Clergie to make him partiall to them. Now touching rewardes or lucre, which rose to him by his writing, (for which good Father *Tindall* sayd he wrote his bookes, and not for anie affection he bare to the Clergie, no more then *Iudas* betrayed Christ for anie fauour he bare to the Bishopps, Scribes and Pharisies) it is a most shamefull lye and slaunder; as may appeare by his refusall of the 4. or 5. thousand pound offered him by the Clergie.

Concerning *Tindall's* false translation of the New Testament; first it is to be consider-

(a) See Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 8. p. 242. and Sir Tho. More's Apology, in his English Works, cap. 10. p. 367.

ed, as these good bretheren partely denye the very Text it selfe, and whole bookes of the sacred Scripture, as the booke of the *Machabies*, and certaine others; and *Luther S. James's* Epistle also; and as they adulterate and commaculate and corrupt the whole Corps of the same with their wrong and false expositions, farre disagreeing from the Comment of the ancient Fathers and Doctours, and from the fayth of the whole Catholike Church: So haue they for the aduancing and furthering of the said heresies, of a sett purpose peruered and mistranslated the sayd holie Scripture. And after such shamefull sorte, that amongst other their mischieuous practises, whereas in the Latine Epistle of *S. Paul* is read in the olde translation *fornicarij*, in the new they haue *Sacerdotes*, that is, priests, for the good deuotion they beare to the sacred Order of Priesthood. And their patriarche *Luther* with his translation of the sayd holie Scripture into the Dutch tounge, hath wonderfully depraued, corrupted and defiled it, as we could by diuerse proofes easily shewe, whome his good schollar *Tindall*, in his English translation, doth matche or rather passe; wherein he turneth the word *Church* into *Congregation*, *Priest* into *Senior* or *elder*; which word *Congregation* absolutely of it selfe, as *Tindall* doth vse it, doth no more signifye the Congregation of Christian men, then a fayre flocke of vnchristian geese; neither this word *Presbyter* for *Elder* signifyeth any whitt more a *Priest*.

*Priest*, then an elder-sticke. Manie other partes of his Translation are sutable to this; as where in spight of Christ's and his holie Saints images, he turneth Idolls into Images; and for the like purpose of setting forth his heresie, *Charitie* into *Loue*, *Grace* into *Fauour*, *Confession* into *repentance*, and such like; for which, as also for diuerse of his false, faythlesse hereticall assertions, as well that the Apostles left nothing vnwritten, that is of necessitie to be belieued, That the Church may erre in matter of Fayth, That the Church is only of chosen elects, Touching the manner and order of our elections, Touching his wicked and detestable opinion against the free wil of man, Touching his fond and foolish paradoxes of the elect, though they doe abhominable haynous actes, yet they doe not sinne, and that the elect, that doth once heartily repent, can sinne no more; he doth so substantially and pleasantly confute and ouerthrowe *Tindall*, that yf these men that be enuenomed and poysoned with these pestilent heresies, would with indifferent mindes reade the sayd Sir THOMAS MORE's answer, there were good hope, (as it hath, God be thanked, chanced to manie already) of their good and speedie recouerie. But alacke the while and woe vpon the subtle craft of the cursed diuell, that so blindeth them, and the wretched, negligent and little regarde, that these men haue to their soule's health, that can be content to sucke in the deadlie poyson of their soules by reading and crediting these mischieuous  
bookes,



bookes, and yet will not once vouchsafe to take the holefome depulsiue Triacle, not to be fetched from *Geneua*, but euen readie at home at their hands in Sir THOMAS MORE's bookes against this dreadfull deadlie infection. But to returne now againe to the sayd *Tindall*; Lord! what open, fowle and shamefull shifts doth he make for the defence of his wrong and pestiferous assertions, and with what spitefull shamefull lyes doth he belye Sir THOMAS MORE, and wretchedly depraueth his writings! not being ashamed, though his playne manifest wordes lye open to the sight of all men to the contrarie, to deprauce his answers. And amongst other, that he should affirme, that the Church of Christ should be before the Gospell was taught or preached; which things he neither writeth nor once thought as a most absurde vntruth, but that it was, as it is very true, before the written Gospell. And the sayd Sir THOMAS MORE seing that by *Tindall's* owne confession, the Church of God was in the world manie hundred yeares, before the written lawes of *Moyfes*, doth well thereof gather and conclude against *Tindall*, that there is no cause to be yeilded, but that much more it may be so, and is so indeede, in the gracious time of our redemption, the holie Ghost, that leadeth the Church from time to time into all truth, being so plentifully effused vpon the same, The Church of Christ is and euer hath bene in manie things instructed necessarie to be believed, that be

not in anie Scripture comprized. These and many other strong reasons do proue the common knowne Catholike Church, and none other to be the true Church of Christ; And seing we do not knowe the verie bookes of Scripture, which thing *Luther* himselfe confesseth, but by the knowne Catholike Church, we must of necessitie take the true and sound vnderstanding of the sayd Scriptures, and all our sayth from the sayd Church; which vnderstanding is confirmed in the sayde Church from the Apostles time by infinite miracles, and with the consent of the olde Fathers and holie martyrs, with manie other substantiall reasons, that Sir THOMAS MORE here layeth downe; haue so appaled and amazed *Tindall*, that he is like a man that were in an inexplicable labyrinth, whereof he can by no means gett out: And *Tindall* being thus brought often times to a bay, and vtter distresse, he scuddeth in and out like a hare, that had twentie brace of grayhounds after her, and were asfear'd at euerie foote to be snatched vpp. And as Sir THOMAS MORE merrily, yet truely writeth, he did winde himself so wilily this way and that way, and so shifteth him in and out, and with his subtile shifting so bleareth our eyes, that he maketh vs as blind as a catt; and so snareth vs vp in his matters, that we can no more see where about he walketh, then yf he went visible before vs all naked in a nett, and in effect, playeth the verie blinde hobbe about the house; sometimes,  
when

when there is no other shift, then *Tindall* is driuen to excuse himselfe and his doings; as he doth for the word *Presbyter*, which he translated first Senior, then Elder; wherein for excuse of his fault, at great length he declareth 4. fayre vertues in himself: malice, ignorance, errour, and follie. And where that he sayd, he had amended his fault in translating *Elder* for *Senior*, this is a like amending, as yf he would, where a man were blinde on the one eye, amende his sight by putting out the other.

As Sir THOMAS MORE answered *Tindall*, touching his vnknown Church (a), so did he also Fryer *Barnes*; for in that point both agreed, and would haue the Church secrett and hid in hugger mugger; but in the meane season they handle the matter so handsomely and so artificially, that their owne reasons plucke downe their vnknowne Church. And albeit they would haue vs belieue, the Church were vnknown, yet doe they giue vs tokens and markes, whereby it should be known. And in perusing the vnknowne Church, they fall into manie foolish and absurde paradoxes, that Sir THOMAS MORE discouereth. And this vnknown Church would they fayne reare vp in the ayre to plucke downe the known Catholike Church on the earth, and so leaue vs no Church at all; which Church to ouer-

(a) See Sir Tho. More's Works, p. 735. His answer to Barnes makes up the eighth Book of his Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, &c. written in 1532.



throwe, is their finall and onlie hope ; for, that standing, they well knowe, their malignant Church cannot stande, being by the Catholike Church both now and manie hundred yeares condemned. These and manie other things doth Sir THOMAS more at large full well declare, and setteth the limping and halting goodwife of the Bottle at Bottleswharfe at disputation with F. Barnes ; in which the indifferent reader shall see, that she did not so much limpe and halte, as did the lame and weake reasons that F. *Barnes* brought against her of his unknowen Church, which she vtterly ouerthroweth ; but yet as they doe both *Tindal* and *Barnes* agree, as we haue sayd, in their secrett vnknown Church, so in other points touching their sayd Church, as in manie other articles besides, they doe iarre and disagree, and not so much the one from the other, as from themselues, as Sir THOMAS MORE sheweth more at large. For, sayth he, as they that would haue built vp the Tower of Babylon, had such a stoppe throwen vpon them, that suddenly none knewe what another sayd ; surely so God vpon these heretikes of our time, that goe busily about to rayse vp to the skye their fowle filthie dung-hill of all olde and new false skinking heresies gathered togeather against the true Catholike sayth of Christ, that himself hath hitherto taught his true Catholike Church ; God, I say, when the Apostles went about to preache the Catholike sayth, sent downe the holie spi-

rit of vnitie, Concorde, and truth vnto them, with the guift of speech and vnderstanding, fo that they vnderstood euerie man, and euerie man vnderstood them, sent amongst these heretikes the spirit of errour and lying, of dissension and diuision, the damnable deuill of hell, which so entangleth their tounge, and distempereth their braynes, that they neither vnderstande one another, nor anie of them well himselfe. The bookes of the sayd *Tindall* and *Barnes* are more farced and stuffed with ieasting and rayling, then with anie good substantial reasoning; and notwithstanding that a man would thinke that *Tindall* were in fonde scoffing peerelesse; yet, as Sir THOMAS MORE declareth, *Barnes* doth farre ouer-runne him, and oftentimes fareth, as if he were from a Fryer waxen a fidler, and would at a tauerne goe gett him a pennie for a fitt of mirth; and yet sometimes will the foole demurely and holily preache, and take so vpon him, as if he were Christ's owne deare Apostle, as doe also the residue of the bretheren, that write, and especially *Tindall*, who be-ginneth the preface of this booke, with the grace of our Lord, and the light of his spirit, &c. with such glorious and glistering salutations, as if it were *S. Paul* himselfe: but Sir THOMAS MORE doth accordingly dresse him, and doth discouer to the world Fr. *Luther's* and *Tindall's*, and such other false, fayned, and hypocritically holinesse in their so high

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and sollemne salutations and preachings: and concludeth not more pleasingly, that when a man well considereth these their salutations and preachings, he may well and truly iudge those their counterfitt salutations and sermons to be a great deale worse then Fryer *Frapp* (who first gapeth, then bleffeth and looketh holily, and preacheth ribaudrie) was wont at Christmas to make.

And thus will we leaue *Tindall* and *Barnes*, and speake of some other of their fraternitie; amongst whome there was one that made The Supplication of Beggars, the which Sir THOMAS MORE (a) answered very notably before he wrote against *Tindall* and *Barnes*. This Supplication was made by one *Simon Fish*, for which he became penitent, returned to the Church againe, and abiured all the whole hill of those heresies, out of the which the fountaine of his great zeale, that moued him to write, sprang.

(b) After this Sir THOMAS MORE wrote a letter impugning the erroneous writing of *Iohn Frith*; and whereas, after he had giuen ouer the office of Lo: Chancellour, the heretikes full fast did write against him, and found manie faultes with him and his writings,

(a) Under the title of *The Supplication of Soules*, and publish'd in 1529. See Sir Tho. More's Works, &c. p. 288. This Book is sometimes call'd *the Supplication of Purgatory*. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 33. Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 189.

(b) In 1533. Wood's Athen. Oxon.



he made a goodlie and learned (a) Apologie of some of his answers; which sayd Apologie we haue already touched, especially that they layd to his charge the slender recitall and misrehearsall of *Tindall* and *Barnes's* arguments, and sheweth that they were calumnious slaunders; and that himself vsed *Tindall* and *Barnes* after a better manner, then they vsed him. For *Tindall* rehearseth Sir THOMAS MORE's arguments in euerie place fayntely and falsely, and leaueth out the pith and strengthe, and the proöfe that most maketh for the purpose. And he fareth therein, as if there were one hauing a day of challenge pointed, in which he should wrastle with his aduersarie, and would finde the meane by craft before the day to gett his aduersarie into his owne hands, and there keepe him, and dyett him with such a thinne dyet, that at the day he bringeth him forth feeble, faynt, and famished, and almost starued, and so leane that he can scarce stand on his legs; and then is it easie, you wote well, to giue the fillie foole the fall. And yet when *Tindall* had donne all this, he tooke the fall himselfe; but euerie one may see, that Sir THOMAS MORE vseth not that play with *Tindall*, nor with anie of those folke, but rehearseth their reasons to the best, that they can make it themselues, and rather enforceth, and strengtheneth it, as we haue before declared, rather then taketh anie thing therefrom.

(a) This was written against a Book intituld, *A Treatise of the diuision between the spirituality and temporality.* Wood, *ibid.* Vid. *infra*, p. 328.

Whereas now they found farther faulte with the length of his booke, he writeth amongst other things that it is lesse maruell, that it seemes to them long and tedious to reade within, whome it irketh to do so much as to looke it ouer without, and euerie way seemeth long to him that is wearie before he beginne. But I finde some men, to whom the reading of the booke is so farre from being tedious, that they haue read the whole booke ouer thrice, and some that make tables thereof for their owne remembrance, and are men that haue as much witt and learning both, as the best of all this blessed Brotherhood, that euer I heard of. And for the shortnesse of *Barnes's* booke, that the aduersaries did commend, he writeth that he woteth not well, whether he may call them long or short; sometimes they be short in deede, because they would be darke, and haue their false follies passe and repasse all vnperceaued; sometimes they vse some compendious eloquence, that they conuey and couche vp together with a wonderfull breuitie foure follies and fiae lyes, in lesse then as manie lines; but yet for all this I see not in effect anie men more long then they: for they preache sometimes a very long processe to a little purpose, and sith that of their whole purpose they proue neuer a whit at all, were their writings neuer so shorte, yet were their worke too long at last all together.

Besides

Besides manie other things, his aduersaries layde to his charge, that he handled *Tindall*, *Frieth*, and *Barnes*, vngodly and with vncomelie wordes, to which he this answereth; now when that against all the Catholike Church, both that now is and euer hath bene before from the Apostles daies hitherto, both temporall and spirituall, lay men and religious, and against all that good is, Saints, Ceremonies, Seruice of God, the verie Sacrament of the Altar, these blasphemous heretikes in their vngracious bookes so villanously wrest and raile: were not a man, weene you, farre ouerseene and worthie to be accounted vncourteous, that would in writing against their heresies presume without great reuerence to rehearse their worshipfull names? yf anie of them vse their wordes at their pleasure as euill and as villanous as they list, against myself; I am content to forbear anie requiting thereof, and give them no worse words againe, then yf they speak me fayre, nor vsing themselues towards all other folke, as they doe, fayrer words will I not give them, then if they spake me fowle; for all is one to me, or rather worse then better; for the pleasant oyle of heretikes cast vpon my head, can doe my minde no pleasure, but contrariewise, the worse that folke write of me for hatred they beare to the Catholike Church and fayth, the greater pleasure, as for mine owne parte, they doe me; but surely their rayling against all other, I purpose not to beare so patiently,



as to forbear to lett them heare some parte of like language, as they speake, howbeit how to matche them therein, I neither can, though I would; but I am content, as needes I must, to giue them therein the maisterie, wherein to matche them, were more rebuke then honestie; for in their rayling is all their roste meate sawced, all their pott seasoned, and all their pye meate spiced, and all their wafers, and all their pottage made. He addeth further, yf they, sayth he, will not be heretikes alone themselues, and holde their touns and be still, but must needes be talking, and corrupte whome they can, lett them yet at the leastwise be reasonable heretikes and honest, and write reason, and leaue rayling, and then lett all the bretheren finde faulte with me, yf I vse them not after that in wordes as fayre and as milde as the matter may suffer.

About this time, there was one that had made a booke of the Spiritualtie and the Temporalitie, of which booke the bretheren made great store, and blamed Sir THOMAS MORE, that he had not in writing vsed such a softe and milde manner, and such indifferent fashion, as the same person did. By which occasion, Sir THOMAS MORE discourseth vpon the same booke, the author whereof pretendeth to make a pacification of the aforesayd diuision and discorde, and openeth manie faultes and follies, and false slaunders against the Clergie, vnder a holie conclusion and pretence of pacification in the sayd bookes. To  
which

which discourse of Sir THOMAS MORE's there came an answer (a) afterwards in printe, vnder the title of *Salem* and *Bizanze*; to the which Sir THOMAS MORE replied, and so dressed this prettie proper politike pacifyer, that he had no list, nor anie man for him afterwards, to encounter with the sayd Sir THOMAS MORE. The pleasant and wittie declaration of the title of the sayd booke of Sir THOMAS MORE's, because the booke is seldome and rare to be gott, I will now, gentle reader, sett before thine eyes. The sayd title is framed in this sorte: The debellation of *Salem* and *Bizanze*, sometime two greate townes, which being vnder the Turke, were betweene Easter and Michelmas last 1533. by a maruellous metamorphose and enchantment, turned into Englishmen, by the wonderfull inuentiue witt and witchcraft of *Sir Iohn Someſay* the Pacifyer, and so conueyed by him hither in a dialogue to defende his diuision, against Sir THOMAS MORE knight; but now being thus betweene *Michelmas* and *Allhallowntide* next ensuing the debellation vanquished, they are fledde hence, and are become two townes againe, with these olde names changed, *Salem* into *Hierusalem*, and *Bizanze* into *Constantinople*, the one in *Greece*, the other in *Syria*, where they may see them that will, and winne them that can: and yf this Pacifyer conuey them hither againe, and ten such townes embatteled

(a) 'Twas publish'd at London in 1533. octavo, Wood's Athen. Oxon.

with

with them in Dialogues, Sir THOMAS MORE hath vndertaken to putt himfelfe in aduenture againſt them all; but yf he lett them tarrie ſtill there, he will not vtterly forſweare it, but he is not in the minde, age now coming on, and he waxing vnweldie, to goe thither to giue the affaulte to ſuch wellwalled townes, without ſome ſuch luſtie companie, as ſhall be likelie to leape it a little more lightlie. This is the title of the aforeſayd booke; and that indeed Sir THOMAS MORE hath moſt valiantly diſcomfited the Pacifyer, and ouerthrowen his two great townes, may eaſily appeare to ſuch as will vouchſafe to reade Sir THOMAS MORE's answer: the circumſtances and particularities whereof to ſett downe, would make our preſent treatiſe to growe too bigg; I will only ſhew you one declaration or two, whereby you may make ſome ayme to iudge of the whole doing of the ſayd Pacifyer; yf it were ſo, ſayth the ſayd Sir THOMAS MORE, that one found two men ſtanding togeather, and would ſteppe in betweene them, and bear them in hand, that they were about to fight, and would with the word putt one partie backe with his hand, and all to buſſett the other about the face, and then goe forth and ſay, he had parted a fray, and pacified the parties, ſome men would ſay, as I ſuppoſe, he had as lief his enimie were lett alone with him, and thereof abide the aduenture, as haue ſuch a friend ſteppe in to parte them. Another, of a man that



that were angrie with his wife, and happely not without cause; now, sayth Sir THOMAS MORE, yf the author of this booke would take vpon him to reconcile them, and helpe to make them at one, and therein would vse this way, that when he had them both together before him, would tell all the faultes of the wife, and sett among them some of his owne imagination, and then would goe about to auoyde his wordes vnder the fayre figure of *Some-say*; which he commonly vseth in his booke of Pacifying, either by forgettfullnesse, or by the figure of playne follie; and then would tell her husband's parte-verse too, and say vnto him, that he himselfe had not dealt discretely with her, but hath vsed to make her too homelie with him, and hath suffered her to be idle, and hath giuen way to her being too much conuersant amongst her gossips, and hath giuen her ouergaye geare, and sometimes giuen her euill wordes, and called her, as I suppose, cursed queane and shrewe, and some say, that behinde your backe she calles you knaue and Cuckolde; were not there a proper kinde of pacification? And yet is this the liuelie patterne and image of Mr. Pacifyer's doings, with the which, and with the spinning of fine lyes with flaxe, fetching them out of his owne bodie, as the spyder doth the Cobbewebbe, fayning and finding faulte with Sir THOMAS MORE for these matters and wordes, whereof he sayth the playne contrarie, he had greate cause to be  
ashamed,

ashamed, howbeit litle shame could cleave to his cheekes, but that he would soone shake it away, while his name was not at his booke.

We haue now one booke more written in matter of religion, and that is of the (a) B. Sacrament of the altar, by the sayd Sir THOMAS MORE. We tolde you before of a letter of his, wherein he impugneth the heresie of *John Frith*; albeit he was prisonner in the Tower of *London*, he found the meanes to make answer to that letter, and to conuey it beyond the seas, where it was printed, and it was afterwards brought into this realme, as Sir THOMAS MORE did certainly vnderstande, who minded, when the booke came to his hands, to answer it; but now in the meane season came there from beyond the seas, an Answer made to the same letter by another, and printed without the Authour's name, entituled, *The Supper of the Lord*. But I beshrewe, quoth Sir THOMAS MORE, such a Sewer, that serueth in such a supper, as he conueyeth away the best dish, and bringeth it not to the borde, as this man would, if he could conuey from the B. Sacrament Christs owne flesh and bloud, and leaue vs nothing therein but for a memoriall only bare bread and wine. But his handes are too lumpish, and this messe too great for him, especially to conuey cleane, sith the man hath his hart bent thereto, and therefore his eye sett thereon, to see where it

(a) Stapleton. Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 190.

becometh. This naughtie namelesse authour, Sir THOMAS MORE doth not only by the authority of the Sacred Scripture, and holy ancient Fathers, but by his owne reasons and textes that himself bringeth forth, plainly and euidently conuince.

Now haue we besides, (a) other excellent and fruitfull bookes, which he made being prisoner in the Tower: as his Three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation; a Treatise to receaue the B. Sacrament Sacramentally and virtually both; a treatise vpon the Passion, with notable Introductions to the same. He wrote also manie other godlie and deuout Instructions and prayers; and surely of all the bookes that euer he made, I doubt whether I may preferre anie of them before the sayd Three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation, yea or anie other man's, either heathen or Christian that haue written, (as manie haue) either in Greeke or Latine of the sayd matter. And as for heathen, I doe this worthie man plaine iniurie, and doe much abase him, in matching and comparing him with them, especially in this poynt: seing that, were they otherwise neuer so incomparable, they lacked yet, and knewe not the very especiall and principall ground of Comfort and Consolation, that is, the true fayth of Christ, in whome and for whome, and whose glorie, we must seeke and fetch all our true comfort and con-

(a) See Stapleton, Vit. Th. Mori, cap. 4. p. 190.



solation: well lett them passe, and lett vs further say, that as the sayd Sir THOMAS MORE notably passeth manie learned Christians, that haue of the same matter written before, so lett vs adde, that it may well be doubted, all matters considered and weighed, yf anie of the rest may seeme much to passe him: There is in these bookes so wittie, pithie and substantiall matter, for the easing, and remedying, and patiently suffering of all manner of griefes and sorrowes, that may possibly encombe anie man by anie manner or kinde of tribulation, whether their tribulation proceede from anie inward temptation, or ghostlie enemye, the diuell, or anie outward temptation of the world, threatening to bereaue or spoile vs of our goods, lande, honour, libertie and freedome, by grieuous and sharpe imprisonment, and finally of our life withall, by anie painefull, exquisite and cruell death; against all which he doth so wonderfully and effectually prepare, defende, and arme the reader, that a man cannot desire or wishe anie thing of any more efficacie or importance thereunto to be added: In the which booke his principall drift and scope was to stirre and prepare the mindes of Englishmen manfully and courageously to withstande and not to shrink at the imminent and open persecution, which he foresawe, and immediately followed against the vnitie of the Church and the Catholike Fayth of the same; albeit full wittily and wisely, that the bookes might the safer goe abroad,

abroad, he doth not expressely meddle with those matters; and couereth the matter vnder the name of an *Hungarian*, and of the persecution of the Turkes in *Hungarie*; and of the booke translated out of the Hungarian tounge into Latine, and then into the English tounge. Of these bookes then there is great account to be made, not only for the excellent matter comprised in them, but also for that they were made, when he was most straitly shutt vpp and enclosed from all companie in the Tower: in which sorte I doubt whether a man shall finde anie other booke of like worthinesse made by anie Christian; and yet yf anie such be found, much surely should I yeelde to the same. But there is one thing, wherein these bookes of Sir THOMAS MORE by speciall prerogatiue surmounte (or else I am deceiued) all other of this sorte: and that is, that they were for the most part written with noe other penne, then a coale, as was his treatise vpon the Passion; which Coppies, yf some men had them, they might and would esteeme more then other bookes written with golden letters, and would no lesse accounte of it, then S. Hierome did of certaine bookes of the martyr *Lucian*, written with his owne hand, that by chance he happened on, and esteemed them as a precious Iewell. And yet is there one thing, that in the valuing and praying of these bookes, he is not, as manie great Clerkes are, like to a whett-stone, that being blunt and dull it selfe, whetteth other things  
and

and sharpeth them : it was not so with this man ; for though he wrote these bookes with a dead blacke coale, yet was there a most hote burning coale, such an one, as purified the lippes of the holie prophett Esaus, that directed his hand with the black coale, and so enflamed and incensed his hart withall to heauen-ward, that the good and holesome instructions and counsell that he gaue to other men in his bookes, he himselfe afterward in most patient suffering the losse of his goods and landes, imprisonment and death, for the defence of iustice and of the Catholike Fayth, experimented and worthily practised in himselfe.

And these be in effect the bookes he made either in Latine or English ; which his English bookes, yf they had bene written by him in the Latine tounge also, or might be with the like grace, that they now haue, be translated into the Latine speach, they would surely much augmente and increase the estimation, which the world already hath in forraine Countries, of his incomparable witt, learning, and vertue.

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certain Memoirs relating to the Life of Inigo  
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IV.

IV. The Survey of *Cornwal*, and an Epistle concerning the Excellencies of the *English* Tongue. Now first published from the Manuscript. By *Richard Carew* of *Antonie* Esq; With the Life of the Author, by *H. C.* Esq; Quarto.

V. A Discovery of certain Errors published in Print in the much commended *Britannia*, 1594. very prejudicial to the Descents and Successions of the ancient Nobility of this Realm. By *Ralph Brooke*, *Torke* Herald at Arms. *Quam quisque norit Artem, in hac se exerceat.* To which are added, The Learned Mr. *Cambden's* Answer to this Book, and Mr. *Brooke's* Reply. Now first published from an Original Manuscript in the Library of *John Anstis* Esq; Garter King at Arms. In two Parts. Quarto.

VI. *Speculum Britannia*, An Historical and Chorographical Description of *Middlesex* and *Hertfordshire*; wherein are alphabetically set down the Names of the Cities, Towns, Parishes, Hamlets, Houses of note, &c. in those Counties: With Directions speedily to find any Place desired in the Maps, and the Distance between Place and Place without Compasses. By *John Norden*. Illustrated with Maps, curiously engraven by Mr. *Senex*, and the Arms of the principal Persons interred in the County of *Middlesex*. To which are added, A Preparative to this Work, intended a Reconciliation of sundry Propositions, by divers Persons

sons tender'd concerning the same, Tby the  
said Author. *Quarto.*

VII. The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John  
Maundevile, Knt. which treateth of the Way  
to Hierusalem; and the Marvayles of Inde,  
with other Ilands and Countreys. Now pub-  
lished from an Original Manuscript in the  
Cotton Library. *Octavo.*

VIII. Explanatio Notarum & Litterarum, quæ  
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bus, & Authoribus occurrunt; its omnibus, qui  
hoc studio delectantur, necessaria. Auctore  
Sertorio Ursato Serenissimi Veneti Senatus  
Equite.



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